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Christian Leadership in a World Society

Essays in honor of
CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN

Edited by Justin Wroe Nixon and
Winthrop Still Hudson

The Colgate-Rochester Divinity School
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CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP IN A WORLD SOCIETY

PREFACE

The chapters in this book have been written by students and colleagues of Conrad Henry Moehlman, in the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

Professor Moehlman began his work as a member of the Faculty of the School (formerly the Rochester Theological Seminary) in 1907. At that time the newer methods of historical criticism as applied to the history and literature of Christianity were still struggling for full recognition in the teaching of the Faculty. In such classrooms as those of Professors Stevens, Betteridge and Rauschenbusch the newer methods had been making headway. But it was not until the period 1912-14 that a definite transition was made from the old to the new.

During those years Professor George Cross succeeded President Augustus H. Strong in the Chair of Systematic Theology; Professor Henry B. Robins began work in the field of religious education and the history and philosophy of religion; and Professor Ernest W. Parsons became one of the teachers of the Bible. Professor Moehlman who had been an instructor, became full professor of New Testament literature in 1914 and later of Church History.[1]

1 Professor Moehlman served in the Rochester Theological Seminary as instructor in church history

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As a result of the initiative of these men a new curriculum of theological study was adopted and the Seminary as a whole became oriented toward the problems and needs of a new age. Under George Cross theology was transferred from a systematic to an historical basis. Henry Robins approached religion from the point of view of the new science of the psychology of religion and at the same time demonstrated in theory and practice the values of the inner life. Ernest Parsons was a pioneer in the development of what has since been called Form Criticism, and in his classroom the Scriptures became living documents, born out of history but with a message for all time.

Conrad Moehlman was the cosmopolitan of the group. His interests, as may be deduced from the list of his writings, have been very wide. To all these interests he brought an enthusiasm for investigation that was contagious, a sense of humor and sympathy that made him a delightful companion, and a zeal for creating scholars that has left many ministers and teachers in his debt.

Professor Cross died in 1929. Professors

(1907-08), instructor in Hebrew (1909-10), associate professor of Biblical languages (1910-13), Huntley professor of English Bible (1913-14), and Trevor professor of New Testament interpretation (1914-18). In 1918 he succeeded Walter Rauschenbusch in the chair of Church History, a position he held until his retirement in 1944.

Robins and Parsons retired from the Faculty in 1941, but we are happy to include essays by them in the present volume. Professor Moehlman retired in 1944. The editors have sought to publish these essays in his honor, not merely because of their sense of indebtedness to him as their teacher and friend, but because he represents a group of Christian educators, who helped not only their own institution but theological schools in general to make the transition to the new age that was dawning thirty years ago.

But now another age has begun, or perhaps we should say the age which dawned in 1912-14 is beginning to disclose its true significance. We now realize that at the heart of the travail through which for years mankind has been passing is the struggle to become "one world." We face in these days the necessity of thinking through the whole task of Christian leadership in the light of the "one world" that is emerging. That task has determined the central theme of this book.

Each contributor to the book is responsible only for his own work. But all have been moved by the challenge to reorientation presented to the forces of Christianity by the events on the world stage. And all have been inspired by the high regard in which they hold Conrad Moehlman.

J. W. N.
W. S. H.

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A Selected List of the Writings of Conrad Henry Moehlman.

"... we must know our main direction or we can never choose our path in any particular region. A general conception of policy must dominate every specialized solution. Less than ever can we now isolate our problems. Man's activities in every sphere react upon one another more rapidly, more directly, and more intimately than in any previous age."

Sir Arthur Salter in *Recovery*
p. vii.

THE WORLD BECOMES A SOCIETY

CHAPTER I

The World Becomes a Society

By
Justin Wroe Nixon

WITH the outbreak of World War I in 1914 the curtain was lifted for the presentation of the greatest drama of human history. The surface of this entire globe has constituted the stage. All the peoples of the earth have been cast for roles in the unfolding of the plot. In all the greater nations there are individuals who have become aware that they have a part in a common enterprise that will determine for decades and perhaps for centuries the fate of mankind.

In such an age the forces of religion can hardly fail to take stock of their relationships to the world drama and of the contribution they may make to its favorable outcome. Certainly those engaged in the activities of the Christian churches cannot evade this challenge. For theirs is a universal religion. The followers of Christianity live in many countries and they are profoundly affected by the events of our time. Moreover it is a part of the Christian tradition that Christians must bear their share of responsibility for what happens in the common life of men.

To the re-orientation of the work of the Christian churches in the light of the experiences of our age this volume is dedicated. In the present chapter we shall undertake to describe the drama now being presented on the world stage in some of its long-range aspects. The chapters that follow will then suggest some of the issues the forces of Christianity now have to meet, and some of the resources of Christianity available for dealing with them.

I

The dominant fact about the world today that is conditioning thought in every realm is that it is becoming a society. We say "society" rather than "community" on the ground that society is the more "inclusive term." In the strict sense the world is not yet a society. Social institutions of world-wide scope are few and fragile. Common customs and sentiments are limited in number and influence. What has happened is the development throughout the world of an extraordinary system of communication which makes possible an interchange of goods, services, and ideas. A structure largely mechanical in nature has come into existence out of which as from a matrix the institutions, customs, aand sentiments essential to a society are beginning to emerge.

On beyond "society" lies the goal of "com-

munity." It is possible that the interchange of goods, services, and ideas may remain a largely external affair or that the antagonisms generated by social change may sweep away every semblance of world order as rapidly as it is achieved. But it is also possible that with the increasing interdependence of the peoples there will come an actual interpenetration and fusion of life that will give to the human race an experience of genuine community. In such a world, beyond the experience of differences and conflicts, men everywhere would have the feeling of belonging together. They would develop symbols of common devotion and goals of common effort. They would create organs of universal education and forms of government through which the peoples could express the common will. The hope of a true world-community with institutions that would foster the sentiment of a common humanity is one of the bonds that unites the participants in this symposium.

But we are far from that goal at the present time and we shall make little progress toward it unless we envision and keep in mind some of the long-range aspects of our age to which we have referred.

A primary aspect, so important that we have suggested it in the title of this chapter, is the fact that modern technology is pressing the varied, culturally diverse and small-

group-centered life of man into a vast societal form. This fact marks a turning point in the evolution of the human race which it may be well for us to try to understand.

To estimate the significance of what is happening now we must go back. Some seven centuries ago the mind of western man began to expand. In the main this seems to have been due to the wanderings of scholars and the incursions of warriors (crusaders) into Moslem lands. In the Arabian schools in Spain, and in Constantinople, for instance, they came upon the main body of the works of Aristotle, unknown to Christian Europe, except for elementary parts of his logic, for centuries. With the founding of universities at such centers as Paris and Oxford it became possible to discuss publicly the questions created in men's minds by the reading of the new Aristotle. The monumental work of St. Thomas Aquinas had its inspiration in the necessity of meeting the challenge to Christian faith that grew out of these questions.

From the twelfth century until the present there has been no permanent check to the expansion of the human mind in the Western world. In the fifteenth century began the era of geographical discovery and colonization which carried European culture over the earth. The Reformation broke down the universal sway of a great ecclesiastical authority and released the spirit of religious enquiry

in multitudes of human beings. The scientific revolution associated with such names as Galileo, Copernicus and Newton opened up the universe to the exploration of human intelligence as Vasco de Gama, Columbus, and the Cabots had opened up the earth's surface. In the eighteenth century came the political revolutions in America and France and the transformation in methods of manufacturing which we associate with the invention of machinery and the introduction of the factory system. In the late nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries we have seen the application of science to the production and distribution of goods in a wholesale fashion, which has resulted in the registration in Washington of more than 40,000 patents a year. The union of science and industry has frequently been called the technological revolution.

This entire development it has been possible to think of as a movement of expansion. The centrifugal forces of society have been dominant. If a man did not like the restrictions imposed by old authorities and institutions he could move out and away. In new lands and under new conditions he could develop new enterprises, new governments, new inventions, and new ways of life. The premium was upon the pioneer ideals of individualism, freedom, and independence.

But now a change has come. For good or ill men can no longer get away from one

another. The technological revolution has given a decided turn to the movement of expansion. Neither the human being as such nor any of his organizations can escape from the conditions of an interdependent existence imposed by the power of a scientific technology to annihilate space and destroy isolation. The result is that all over the contemporary world the centripetal forces which put the premium on order, cooperation and authority are gaining upon those which offered highest honors to purely individualistic achievement.

The date of Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) which marked the entrance of this country into World War II may ultimately be used to mark the close of a centuries-long period of history. For on that date the American people who cherished still the ideals of the pioneer and who had always been able to enlarge their freedom of action by going west, were attacked *from the west* by a great nation, seventy million strong, whom the very technology American genius prized and fostered, had armed with the weapons of scientific warfare. Since Pearl Harbor millions of Americans, who hitherto had been unconscious of their larger environment, have realized that they had a world on their hands. In fact, the peoples who like nothing better than to live alone and to be let alone, now have to live together. And they cannot do it without

becoming a society, with institutions that drain off the tensions created by the close contacts of the peoples with one another and with new attitudes appropriate to the realization of the better possibilities in a world-wide system of relations.

II

But can the peoples develop such institutions and such attitudes? Here we reach the heart of the issue whether the world can become a full-fledged society and move on toward the goal of community. The difficulties in the way of such an achievement are formidable. There is for instance, the difficulty inherent in the fact that to the average person the whole problem of the mutual adjustment of the peoples seems remote. His attention is likely to be engaged by his immediate surroundings, his intimate circle of family and friends, the security and rewards of his job, the sheer struggle of making a living. In a crisis he will think of the danger that threatens his country and he will respond to her call for his service in her defence. But once the crisis is past, how much support can be counted on from the average man for the effort to maintain stable and powerful international institutions?

Some recent studies of this question are not too assuring. Mr. Hadley Cantril of the Office

of Public Opinion Research, Princeton University, tells us[1] that the gaps in the knowledge—possessed by the general public—essential to intelligent decisions in world affairs are serious. Out of 90,000,000 adults in this country he found in the spring of 1944, that 30% did not know that the Japanese then occupied the Philippines; 37% did not know what a tariff was; 56% did not know that the United States had never been a member of the League of Nations; 60% had never heard or read of the Atlantic Charter; and 68% did not know how a treaty was approved. It is obvious that even with a high degree of good will such a lack of essential information may have a devastating effect upon political policies. Mr. Cantril's own conclusion is that the problems of world betterment in which many are interested still seem quite remote to great masses of our people.

And what about the good will we have assumed, the love for mankind that will furnish the ethos of international order? How much good will can we count on, how ardent is it likely to be and how continuous? In his volume "Morality and Religion" Henri Bergson makes some observations that are pertinent to these questions. He says that as far as love for humanity in general is concerned that is a possession only of the mystic or the

1 "What We Don't Know is Liable to Hurt Us." *N. Y. Times Magazine,* May 14, 1944.

saint. The thinker then projects this love, actually realized in the saint, out upon mankind. But this is "in idea" only. The ordinary man really knows love only in the circle of his family and the groups with which he has a feeling of solidarity. He knows nothing of love for humanity as such. And as far as the large-scale relations of human beings are concerned "the social instinct would be far more likely to prompt societies to struggle against one another than to unite to make up humanity."

Has not Bergson thrown real light on a problem that has ever baffled the ardent worker for peace? It is the problem—why, when John Woolman and Saint Francis have lived the way, and the thinkers have pointed to the way, the masses of men persist in indifference to the way. Bergson says in effect that it is because love of humanity in general is not a trait sufficiently ingrained in either our biological or cultural inheritance to stand the weathering of experience. Is not this the reason, moreover, why statesmen appeal to "interests," self-interest and common interests, rather than to the love of humanity? Is it not one of the great reasons why they feel the necessity of relying on power?

It would be a mistake to conclude from these gaps in the information of the public and from the limitations in good-will and the love of humanity to which the great majority

of us are subject that the development of a world society is out of the question. Aristotle thought that the best state was not practicable if more than a few thousand citizens composed it. Today we have found ways to adapt a relatively good government to the capacities and needs of more than 130,000,000 people.

But the obstacles we have described do make the task of securing a workable form of society for the world a formidable one. Technology has been blindly pushing the peoples up against one another. The result is that destructive tensions have been created more rapidly than the intellectual, moral, and political capacities of men can relieve them. That is why the late Archbishop of Canterbury is quite right in insisting that the crisis of our age is cultural before it is moral. And that is also the reason why the path to a secure and worthy future for mankind seems to many able thinkers uncertain.

There are those indeed who tell us that our technology holds out the promise of vast material abundance—great air cruisers rising from New York after breakfast and landing us in London for dinner in the evening; helicopters furnishing taxi service from the village landing field to the job in the city, one hundred miles away; television enabling us to be spectators of practically all significant public events; the sulfa drugs, penicillin and

their relatives banishing the fear of dread diseases; the transformation of sugars into proteins, and other miracles to be wrought through the cooperation of the scientist and the farmer as wonderful as those already achieved through the joint efforts of the scientist and the industrialist; clothes from glass, houses to be collapsed and moved away as we now move our furniture, and factories without workman operated by photo-electric cells; the walky-talky enabling us to converse with our friends without a telephone. Such is the "gleam" followed by the eye of the planner who has been led up into the mount of vision by the technologist and had pointed out to him the promised land.

But others have been up in the mount and have seen something else. Thomas Mann was one of those, when in *The Magic Mountain* he had the Jesuit Naphta say "Liberation and development of the individual are not the key to our age, they are not what our age demands. What it needs, what it wrestles after, what it will create—is Terror." It is Terror that we now have. And it is Terror that a great technologist Major de Seversky sees in the future. That is why he tells us we must stop wars. "Prophecies of destruction have been made before," he says. "But now there are new dimensions of horror. . . . I dare predict that 'the next war' will not merely bring more destruction than this one, but destruc-

tion of a new kind, applied on an unprecedented scale and against every living thing on earth." According to Major de Seversky the destructive forces of modern technology have scarcely been tapped.[2]

Here are two possible pictures of the future. Neither may be realized. But today mankind moves on, sustaining a precarious balance as in a waking dream, haunted by both of them.

III

And now what of the Christian religion in a world in the process of becoming a society? Has Christianity a function? If so, what is it?

There are those who doubt whether Christianity or any other religion has a function in such a world as ours has become. I recall vividly an evening in a university center a few years ago where a professor of education, a national figure, was speaking of the changes that must occur in our culture. He spoke of being in a Chinese class-room where a map of the world hung before the students. The Chinese teacher drew a line on that map around Western Europe, North America and Japan and said, "Within that line live 500,000,000 people who are dominated by the

2 It is an interesting fact that Major de Seversky made these predictions in an article published by The Herald Tribune of New York on May 7, 1944, more than a year before the first atomic bomb was dropped.

Man-to-Thing relationship." He then drew a line around India, the Near East and North Africa and said "within that line live 500,000,000 people who are dominated by the Man-to-Spirit relationship." Finally he drew another line around China and its border states and said "within that line live 500,000,000 people who are dominated by the Man-to-Man relationship." The American professor in commenting on this incident said that our progress educationally could be measured by the degree to which we were able to escape from domination by the Man-to-Thing relationship and come under the motivation inspired by the Man-to-Man relationship.

Then we had questions. One of the students asked the professor whether there was no room in his analysis of the education of the future for the Man-to-Spirit relationship, calling attention to the fact that the professor had not mentioned that there was. The professor was embarrassed. He halted, then said that the subject was a difficult one, people were experimenting in various ways, he hoped we might find some method for conserving the values in that area. He was clearly confused and he left his audience in doubt as to whether the Man-to-Spirit relationship meant anything at all.

I went home that night feeling that a light had been thrown upon the bewilderment of our time. The Man-to-Spirit relationship. It

had inspired the architecture of the Parthenon and the Gothic cathedrals; the sculpture of Phidias and Michael Angelo; the painting of Raphael; the philosophy of Plato, St. Thomas and Josiah Royce; the music of Bach and Beethoven. It had given birth to the great religions. It had written the Psalms, the Prophets, the Sermon on the Mount and the poetry of Dante, Milton and Browning. It had fashioned law, sustained government, fostered reform and created a long line of the leaders of men from Ikhnaton and Asoka to Gladstone, Wilson, and Gandhi. And now a professor of education does not know what to do with the Man-to-Spirit relationship. In the place where it has functioned in the human soul he leaves a vacuum.

It was not the professor's fault. He was only the spokesman for an era. If there was failure, it was the failure of the institutions of religion fully as much as of those of the secular world. But the vacuum was there nevertheless.

And how was it being filled? There are few lines in contemporary literature more meaningful in this connection than some of those found in the last paragraphs of Konrad Heiden's volume on Hitler entitled *Der Fuehrer*. "Hitler was able to enslave his own people," says Heiden, "because he seemed to give them something that even the traditional religions could no longer provide; the belief in

a meaning to existence beyond the narrowest self-interest. . . . The problem today is to give that larger significance and dignity to a life that has been dwarfed by the world of material things. Until that problem is solved, the annihilation of Naziism will be no more than the removal of one symptom of the world's unrest."

The vacuum will not remain unfilled. If God and the world of Spirit disappear, man will make himself into a god, and he will use all the devices developed in the Man-to-Thing relationship to exalt his own prestige before his fellows and to increase his power over them. And the end of this process is now clear. It is—Terror.

It is obvious that there is a function for a true and vital religion in the world today. The authors of this volume are united in the conviction that Christianity in its real nature is such a religion. Some of the resources of Christianity for the performance of its function will be suggested in subsequent chapters. Here we pause to indicate only in the most general way what that function is.

The function of a true and vital Christianity in a world struggling to become a society is to light up that struggle by a sense of the height and depth perspective of human existence. The light it casts comes from the revelation of God in Christ. That light enables the humblest human being, caught in the

toils of history, pressed by technology up against millions of his kind, pulled hither and yon by remote forces beyond his control, to realize that he is still an individual, precious in the sight of God even as his fellows. Still to him as an individual come the ecstacy of love, the mystery of pain and the certainty of death. Still is he haunted by the ancient disquietudes of the human spirit, the sense of homelessness in an impersonal material world, of sin and guilt, of the reach of a soul that exceeds its grasp, of an Other who, if he could find Him, would bring the answer to his deepest questions.

To man the Christian religion comes with the message that he is an individual with eternity in his heart. And while Christianity does not answer his deepest questions it reveals One who can answer them, whose Presence in the world breathes the assurance of a larger meaning into man's fragmentary and distracted existence. Out of the revelation that man is significant in God's sight comes an empowering hope of human fellowship, the conviction that in God's good time a world of potential brothers will become a society and ultimately achieve community.

As I have meditated on what Christianity may mean in a world that is struggling to become a society I have often thought of the George Washington bridge that spans the Hudson river at New York. There is the huge

span that carries the multitudinous traffic of our age. There are the great piers running down to solid rock. And there are the cables woven of thousands of wires, anchored to the piers and upholding the span.

Is there not here a possible parable of our age? The span is the social structure by which men seek to move on to a more adequate world order. The piers represent the Eternal, whom we come upon when we see life in its height and depth perspective, without whose support the social structure will collapse. The wires and cables are the lives sustained by the Eternal, who make available His power for the upholding of mankind in its pilgrimage toward brotherhood.

Such is the conception that some Christians have of the function of their religion in such a time as this. To significant tasks of Christianity in this time let us now turn.

ISSUES BEFORE CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER II

The Color Line and the Destiny of Our Nation

By

Mordecai Wyatt Johnson

THE world in which we live is now a close-knit neighborhood wherein no group of human beings is farther away from any other group than sixty hours of travel. In this close-knit neighborhood the United States is the most powerful of the nations. From this time forth her citizens will be involved in daily relations with men of every color—black and white and yellow and brown, in every part of the world—in Europe, in Africa, in the Near East, India, the Malay Islands and China.

The most important single question confronting mankind is this: What will be the attitude of the government and the people of the United States toward these people of color? There are very, very many of them: over three hundred million in India, over four hundred million in China, over one hundred fifty million in Africa, and many other millions in the islands of the Pacific and the Near East. What will be our attitude toward them?

They have been our fellow soldiers, our allies and the friends of our cause. Are we to be their friends, in whose presence and with whose help they can respect themselves and move toward economic, political, intellectual and spiritual freedom?

I

These darker peoples are not acquainted with the ways of white people. They have been coming into very close contact with the white people of Europe for four hundred years. From a few missionaries and leaders from England and France and Belgium and Holland and Portugal and Spain they have received evidences of great and inspiring friendship. Yes, and from not a few of the citizens and traders from these lands. And they have believed that such men as these were the representatives of many others in the home countries, with a like spirit and purpose.

On the other hand many white men from these countries have greatly injured these black and brown and yellow peoples. They have seized and sold their persons into slavery; they have seized and occupied their lands; they have exploited their lands and natural resources by scientific and technical methods which they have not freely shared and for monetary returns which they have not equitably divided; they have dealt ruthlessly with

their persons and their family life by divers methods of violence designed to force the native peoples to labor; they have seized and held the governing power, displacing domestic leadership; they have exercised that power in the interest of injurious economic exploitation of the lands and of the people; they have exercised whipping and jailing, hanging and repressive use of firearms to sustain economic and political control; they have segregated the native peoples on their own lands, establishing and maintaining them in an inferior status; and have subjected them to personal humiliation in ways that are multitudinous and wide-spread. *Behind God's Back* is the title of a recent book written by a white man describing the relations of white men of Britain and France, Holland, Germany, Portugal and Spain to the black men and women of Africa. Books of similar title could be written about that relationship in the Near East, India, China and Malaysia as well.

There can be no doubt that it is these injurious relationships which have made the most profound impression upon the black and brown and yellow peoples. For everywhere in the world today they are in restless ferment against these conditions. They are hungry for freedom from economic exploitation, from political subordination and personal humiliation. And they are eagerly scanning the horizon to discover what hope they have for such

a brotherhood in freedom as is so clearly implied by their brotherhood in the suffering and dying of the war.

Wendell Wilkie, before he died, told us how hopefully these peoples looked toward us. He told us that we alone among the western nations, created in them a great expectancy; that this expectancy was manifest everywhere—in Africa, in the Near East, in China, in India and in the islands of the Pacific—an expectancy based upon the conviction that we, because of our own history, quite well understand their hunger for freedom from domination, from poverty and humiliation, and that we will somehow confirm and strengthen them in their struggle to achieve it—yes, even make that struggle possible of victory.

They see, for example, that we were once under the heel of imperialism, that we resisted its yoke, as they do, that we affirmed in its presence, the dignity and inviolable rights of man, and justified and succeeded in revolution; and yet that we have come to be the independent and powerful friends of those against whom we revolted. They see that we once had slaves, but that we travailed in agony until we had cast that system from us, and that, moreover, in eighty years we have set our former slaves on the road to freedom in such wise that their progress is a marvel to the world. They see how such "possessions"

as we have among their people, were most often not the result of greedy aggression, but the by-product of an effort to prevent European aggression from being successful on our own shores. They see that though we have been tempted by imperialistic grasping toward Nicaragua, Haiti and Mexico, our people have recoiled from it, have repelled it and have, on the whole, given an example in our attitude toward Latin America of a strong purpose that small nations in our presence shall be free and self-determined and self-respecting.

These things shine in the eyes of the black and brown and yellow peoples of the world. Because of them they have set a great hope upon us. Their hopeful expectancy is not without anxiety, but it is there.

It is no light thing to have such hope and expectancy directed upon a nation. Individual men who have seen it directed toward them have felt that it was like looking into the face of God—a challenge which a man could not fail to meet, which he could never forgive himself if he failed to meet.

And so it is to our nation. This expectancy is a commandment.

"I have raised thee, as a child of liberty, America" saith the Lord, "and I have guided thee in the possession of thy liberty until thou art now the most powerful nation among the children of men. I call thee now that thou

shalt do that for which I have reared thee. Thou shalt have regard for those who are still unfree. Thou shalt participate in no violence or repression against them. Thou shalt work among them as a friend and as a counsellor and as a helper, giving and receiving in truth and in honor and in brotherliness. And thou shalt counsel among the strong who are with thee, saying 'Brethren, let now the tradition of repression and violence toward these people be brought to an end. God has blessed us with knowledge and resources and power. Let us make use of these treasures to organize freedom for these our brothers.' This it is for which I have girded thee," saith the Lord, "and the greatness thou hast is as nothing compared to what it shall be, if thou hearest my voice."

What will the government and the people of the United States do in the presence of such hope and expectancy and in the presence of so great a commandment? Will they give the world an example of restraint and friendship to these peoples, or will they, too, take possession of their countries, exploit their natural resources and labor, and humiliate their persons in the land of their fathers?

Will they enter the councils of the nations and insist that the structure of imperialism, which arose out of and still covers so much of the evil I have described above, be organized out of existence so that freedom and

progress may be shared by the black and brown and yellow peoples; or will they use their power to confirm the imperialistic tradition and to reestablish it in security?

This is, I say, the most important question in the world and it is a question of destiny. "At midnight there came a cry: The bridegroom is at hand. Go ye out to meet him."

as far as I can go!

II

There are millions among the populations of the European countries who have likewise fixed their hopes upon our leadership. In the midst of their awful suffering they saw that the naked and ruthless and terrible doctrine of race supremacy by which Germany had wrenched herself free from the Christian and democratic tradition to pounce upon the nations, was no new thing, but only a bald and shameless and more intense assertion of the same thing which the conduct of their own nations toward Africa, India and China, the Near East and the Malay Islands for four hundred years had implied. They can see, too, that the suffering which they have suffered at German hands is not unakin to the bitter drink which their nations have so often raised to the lips of their brothers in other lands and of other colors. They are tired of complicity in this imperialistic system and of suffering on its account. They wish to be clearly free from it. They know that they

cannot do this except through an organization which has the support of those who are strong and who, because of their non-complicity, can be centers of trust and constructiveness.

At the end of the last war they set a great hope and expectancy upon us. And, though we failed them then, that hope and that expectancy are not dead. There are millions of them yet who are eager to believe that we could help their leaders to build a world which is free from the competitive struggle to live by straddling the backs and exploiting the lands and the labor of their black and brown and yellow brothers.

It is an additional tribute and commandment that this great trust has been directed toward us.

"And have I set you free, that you should stand alone in your freedom, O America?
Have I not loved also thy brethren from whom I set thee free?
And was it not for their sakes also that I did it?
Return now," saith the Lord, "I command thee
And embrace thy mother, her sons and her daughters,
Thy brothers and thy sisters, and say unto them
'Come now, beloved, let us no longer tread a separate pathway
'Let us unite in the restraint of all violence and oppression
'Let us together be brothers to each other and to our neighbors
'That those who have wept because of us, now may be made glad.' "

Are we, the government and the people of the United States, prepared to go forward with the leadership which is thus so hopefully expected of us, among millions of the people of Europe, as well as among millions of the black and brown and yellow peoples of the world?

It cannot escape our attention that the world-time is most propitious for the exercise of such leadership. There has arisen on the borders of Europe and in the heart of Asia a great and new nation — Russia — with such ample lands and natural resources that she has no need of aggression against any. She is a natural ally of all non-aggression and peace. In any effort to organize imperialism into economic and political freedom and progress Russia would no doubt be a most willing and helpful associate. She has written and respects a constitution which makes discrimination on account of race or color a crime, and, even in her youth, has given a demonstration of constructive relations to racial and religious minorities which is inspiring for the world to look upon.

And there is China which, with her millions, has so long feared aggression, that she would find it a supreme joy to be united in bringing imperialism to an end and in sharing with us the work of freeing the rest of Asia, the Malay Islands, the Near East and Africa.

With the help of these two nations, we western Christian nations could at last unite in bringing the struggle for existence, over land and bread, to an end. We could enter upon the great experiment for which human life was made—the establishment of security and mutuality in variety throughout the earth. Not without peril, not without trembling, but not without hope that we have at last the will and the resources of knowledge to make the experiment possible of success.

A great hope and a great expectancy is set upon our nation by the black and brown and yellow peoples of the earth and by millions of the people of Europe—that we will take the leadership in refrainment from the evils of imperialism and in a world-concerted effort to organize this evil producing system out of existence. We have the physical power and independence to undertake this leadership, and the world-time is propitious for the undertaking. But have we the moral strength to do so? There can be no concealment of the fact that there is anxiety among those who look so hopefully toward us, lest we do not have it.

They see that such an undertaking would involve not only our own great self-restraint but our responsible participation in the counsels and affairs of a Europe filled with memories of greed, of violence and distrust, and presided over all too much by men who do

not repent of the luxuries and power which they have obtained at the expense of the liberty of other lives. It would involve the adventurous faith that these men and their successors could abandon habit tracks of evil which have grown deep by four hundred years of traveling. All the world knows of the widespread and painful reluctance of our people to do and to believe this.

It would involve a deeper and more reverent regard for the life and possibilities of the people of India and Malaya, and Africa and the Near East than the leaders of Europe have had, except in rare minority, yea, deeper than millions of our own citizens, not yet full grown in freedom from the relationships and mental attitudes of our slave days, have come to attain. There are many who sincerely doubt our capacity as a nation for such deeper reverence. Sometimes it seems to them that we all may be overwhelmed by the unfaith of our former slave states.

It would involve not merely a statement and political pursuit of a foreign policy, but the organization of pathways for economic activity within zones of consent established by that policy. There are among us great economic organizations long accustomed to resent all governmentally established pathways. These organizations have their kindred, too, in other nations to whom, it would appear, there is no program of world-organ-

ization which can be holier than the privilege of acquiring unlimited profit and power by the exploitation and control of weaker peoples.

III

In our present state of development it is hard for many among us to believe in our power to exercise the leadership which is so widely and so hopefully expected of us. There are times when the very thought seems an idealistic dream without possibility of realization.

There are those among the leaders of the old European imperialisms who see this too, and who know that there is no hour of temptation quite so great as that in which the human spirit droops at the thought that its wings cannot sustain its sight. They whisper in our ears: "You could be great without soaring, by just standing on your feet and taking what you have the power to take. See what we have taken and enjoyed and used in power and in majesty, with far less resource than yours. Our experience might assist you. You and we might be partners."

Their invitation is very persuasive to some of our American strong men. "This is the American century," they say. "Now that we have the most powerful navy in the world, and the most powerful air force in the world, and the most powerful productive machinery

in the world, it is our time to take. Whatsoever bases we need for our navy and our air force, whatsoever natural resources we need to support and strengthen our power, whatsoever lands and peoples we need to dominate and to use for our ends, we ought to take. This is the American century. 'To him that hath shall be given.' "

We cannot conceal from ourselves, moreover, the unpleasant fact that in the segregated system of dealing with the disfranchised, impoverished and under-educated millions of American Negroes in the former slave states, we have trained a larger number of white men by direct contact to deal with condescension toward the life of men of other colors than all the European imperialism put together. It is a fearful commentary upon our nation that there are many among us so educated, who would no doubt enjoy national and personal dominance attendant upon such an American imperialism.

Is it the knowledge of these internal temptations and weaknesses of ours which cause some leaders of European imperialism to be bold in inviting us to join with them?

Nevertheless, I say, we must be strong to resist their invitation. We must beware of their voice. It is the voice of an evil destiny.

Let us suppose that we, indeed, should heed it. Let us suppose our nation to pursue the selfish seizure of bases and lands and the

selfish exploitation of the natural resources and labor of the black and brown and yellow peoples of the world. Let us suppose her extending her internal system of segregation and disfranchisement and discrimination on the basis of color to the parts of the world in which European imperialisms alone have hitherto done these things. Can we not see the inevitable consequences? We should first of all, destroy the highest hopes which the millions of mankind have so long and expectantly focused upon us. Eager eyes and hearts among the leaders and peoples of India and Africa, the Near East and Malaya would sicken with disappointment and revulsion. Over night we would become the most despised and hated among the nations of men. There are none who are so deeply despised and hated as those who raise and then dash to the ground in disappointment the highest hopes of mankind.

Instead of delivering the millions of Europe from the curse of imperialism we should confirm them in it with hardness. They would know, and the whole world would then know that in the entire block of European and western powers, the democratic and Christian purpose had been abandoned by the state, and Hitler would have been defeated only to rise again in the leadership of those in the West who conquered him. We should awake one morning to find that the eyes of all the

hundreds of millions of peoples in India and China and Africa and the Near East and Malaya, which for years had been focused upon us in hopeful expectancy, would no longer be turned in our direction. They would be focused upon a new sun rising in the East. Their expectant hopes would be focused upon Russia. We should wake to find that God had lifted away our candlestick—aye not only from America but from the whole of western civilization.

We would still assemble on Sundays, don our robes, sing our songs, and offer our prayers, but we would know that the light of the world in us had been darkened.

Was it for this that I reared thee in liberty, O America
That when I had saved thee and groomed thee and
built thee up to be my beloved,
The vehicle of my righteousness and justice among
the nations,
The shamer of the proud and violent and the lifter
up of those of low estate,
And had given thee a power above every other power,
Was it for this that I reared thee, that in the
Hour of thy power and beauty thou didst forsake me
And didst go a-whoring after the very ways from
which I had delivered thee?
Verily I say unto thee, I shall take the garment of
beauty from upon thee
And the expectant peoples of the world shall see thee
as thou art
In all the naked ugliness of thy shame
And I shall cause thy glory to depart from thee,
So that the young men shall despise thee
And make mockery of thee.

And I will lift up another to take thy place before me.
And I shall clothe that other with the radiance which was thine and more,
And shall cause thee to stand alone and to become aged in heart, and toothless and haggard among the nations
And thou shalt be spoken of
As the great whore who abandoned the Holy One of the nations
For the fleshpots and wine and leachery of power.

We could not endure such a tragedy. From the hour that we became aware of it, we would be stricken from within by self-condemnation; and remorse, like a cancer, would begin to eat upon us. We deceive ourselves in believing that our glory is in our riches or in our numbers or in our power. Our pride and our glory have been this: that we have been looked upon as the young democratic man of the nations, the achiever and the agent of liberty. When we awake to be aware that the world no longer believes in us as such we shall know that henceforth we pursue a career in which our conscience has been abandoned, in which all the great traditions of our history have been brutally suppressed and we shall begin to rot from the top as did the Roman Empire. The trunk of our power may continue to be strong for a hundred years or more, our limbs may be spread like a great oak tree, to the ends of the earth, but we shall be rotting from within, and the slime of our decay will be oozing out at the base of our life.

Moreover, we should thus lay the foundation for the next war—a war more huge and more destructive than history ever saw. For we would antagonize both China and Russia and the instruments of modern science and technology would be in both of their hands. Russia has shown us what can be done in twenty years with such weapons by a people who but yesterday were serfs without freedom and without knowledge. What Russia has done in twenty years she, guided by fear of us could make China achieve in fifteen, and in a period of twenty years or thereabouts we should one day hear the rumblings of an armageddon such as the world never before would have witnessed. They would be coming toward us from the East with millions upon millions of soldiers armed with weapons, the best in the world, and they would be coming with the fury of righteous passion crying: "There she is, there she is—the great Babylon—the last great whore among the nations —the seducer and betrayer and raper of our liberties."

Is this the road we wish to travel? No, this is not the road we wish to travel. But it is the road which, by the very inertia of the moral forces within us, we shall travel, unless we bestir ourselves.

The time has come for the Christian forces to bestir themselves as never before, and to bestir themselves for the greatest objective

within our power—the capture and control of the will of this nation for the performance of that democratic and Christian destiny for which she has been reared.

We must see to it that she refrains from imperialism; that she proclaims the freedom of all subject peoples within her and under her influence; that she proclaims, programs and achieves their effective liberation.

We must see to it that she exercises her world power with restraint in the presence of the young and the undeveloped and the aged among the peoples—refraining from violence, and from aggression and from exploitation and from humiliation of their persons.

We must see to it that this policy is proclaimed and that it is implemented by all necessary controls, including the laying out of pathways which shall be followed by the economic powers within us, in all their trading, that they shall deal truthfully, giving full measure, and with honor.

We shall see to it that she becomes the friend and the helper of China, of India, of Africa, of the Near East and of Malaya, exchanging her goods and her knowledge, her technical instrumentalities and her organizational genius, for their raw materials and labor and the hospitality of their friendship.

But we cannot do this in isolation. We cannot exercise such refrainment, restraint and friendship for the young and the growing and

the aged among the peoples, if the imperialism of other nations be left free to go rampant among them. Too long now we have found ourselves and our peaceful and righteous intent toward these peoples frustrated, confused and brought to war as the result of such aggression on the part of others.

It is time now for all aggression to cease, for the entire imperialistic system to be organized out of existence. We must become a part and a leader in this organization.

We must see to it that this organization lays down a policy for the dealing of the advantaged with the disadvantaged, the strong with the weak—a political policy which guarantees the achievement of their freedom; an economic policy which guarantees the achievement of their victory over want and their participation in the economic security which guarantees their spiritual individuality against the imperialism of enforced ideas, and invites their differences as a rich and unashamed contribution to the growing symphony of mankind.

CHAPTER III

The Struggle for Economic Justice

By

J. Scott Everton

MAN does not live by bread alone but man does live by bread, and unless we can find better ways of dealing with the economic issues of life than we have found thus far, we shall have failed to meet a primary responsibility of Christian leadership in a world society.

The problem of economic justice has been a concern of the religious world from the time of the eighth century Hebrew prophets until the present, though this concern has frequently been obscured by stress on personal or other-worldly aspects of religion. The promise of future blessing, while it may sustain a man in times of stress and discouragement, is no real answer to his quest for economic justice here and now. Unless religious leaders are to revert to an exclusively individualistic approach they must deal realistically with the problems that affect the material welfare of human beings.

The Christian leader is not a technical expert in the field of economics, but he may point out where the existing social order is in

conflict with Christian principles and pass on to his fellow Christians acting in their civic capacity, the task of re-shaping the existing order in conformity to these principles. Our Christian faith does not provide a blueprint for society but it does suggest a scale of values in the light of which we may judge any existing order, and criteria which may be used as a basis for re-ordering our economic life so that it may more nearly approximate the Christian ideal. No human society will be completely in accord with this ideal, but no one should set limits on how far we may move in the direction of a more Christian society.

I

The meanings of the phrase, "economic justice" are relative, both to time and to place. It would be difficult to find any general agreement as to what is meant by the phrase, even among those who believe in it and are most willing to work for it. Hocking suggests that nobody yet knows what "just distribution" is inside a nation, still less in the society of nations. He believes that it is less important for world peace that justice be found than that it be sought. "The explosive factor in history is not suffering; it is indifference to suffering on the part of the nonsuffering." Certainly by economic justice we cannot mean complete equality, for true justice involves a recognition of differences. For

example, citizens are not taxed the same amount but rather in proportion to ability to pay. The rate of the income tax per one thousand dollars of income increases rapidly in the higher brackets. Differences in people should occasion differences in treatment but differences based upon partiality, special privilege and mere accident of birth are usually recognized as unjust.

The notion of justice presupposes the notion of rights. Justice, in the ethical sense, means giving to every man the indispensable conditions of self-realization, and while justice means a recognition of differences, it is also true that some kind of equality is inseparable from it. It is only because in our present economic system, it is assumed that all have equality of opportunity that the system can for a moment be called just. What is called economic justice is the ethically just distribution of economic goods.

Returning to the idea of justice as the indispensable condition of self-realization, we might ask what constitutes the indispensable condition. Geoffery Crowther, editor of the London Economist, includes the following as necessary to assure every citizen the essentials of a decent life; food, clothing, fuel, education, leisure time, social security, including unemployment, health, and old-age insurance. These are the "rights" of every citizen. As illustrations of the recognition of these rights

he shows how they were observed when Britain was first heavily bombed. Children were evacuated to safe retreats with no distinction as to classes. Everybody was assured his fair share of food. Housing, medical care, air-raid shelters "dug as faithfully for Mrs. Miller, somewhere under the ruins of her tenement," as "for the Duke of Wessex, somewhere under the ruins of his Mayfair Palace." A similar illustration might be drawn from the operation of the National Selective Service law in our own country.

Of course these rights that are recognized in times of national emergency may not always be recognized, but the fact that they are observed in a crisis indicates that they are basic, and gives rise to the hope that they may be observed more consistently as the social conscience of man becomes more aware of their violation. We have indicated the relationship of rights to justice. It should be observed that as rights and duties are correlative, then a right to share in the economic goods of society would imply a corresponding obligation to contribute to the goods of society directly or indirectly.

While our interest in economic justice begins with our own nation, it must be concerned ultimately with the realization of economic justice in a world society. There is a promise of freedom from want to be redeemed. For better or for worse, the Atlantic

Charter remains the fundamental statement of our international policy, and points four, five and seven of that document define the economic interrelations of a liberated world. "With due respect for their existing obligations," the United Nations "will endeavor to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and raw materials of the world." (Point Four). They have pledged "the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security" (Point Five), and "unhindered freedom of the seas" (Point Seven).

Admitting that much that has been said and done since the signing of this Charter would make it appear doubtful as to how seriously the United Nations have taken these agreements, nevertheless, it was our public profession as to the aims we sought. And regardless of whether this document is to be taken seriously, there are other good reasons for recognizing that economic collaboration must be in the picture if there is to be any hope for the future. However ill-defined the goals, the war was somehow related to the ideals of a larger justice for all men which would include, as Henry Wallace suggested, food for all men and some kind of security for the insecure. But it is one thing to state

the ideal and quite another to make it real. Economic justice is not suddenly to be realized. The road is long and hard and the best we can do is to begin building the foundations.

II

It is becoming increasingly clear that in the shaping of national policies on economic matters more consideration must be given to external influences. This is not to suggest that nations will act from disinterested or altruistic motives, but that nations will be more aware of the effect upon the interests of each country, of bad economic conditions in other countries. Nations will be forced, through self-interest, to collaborate in the economic realm. However, it is not simply the pressure of self-interest that moves men in this direction, but a growing ethical awareness of other peoples, an extension of ethical criteria beyond national boundaries. There is the recognition, that there is such a thing as "international justice" in economic relations. The Atlantic Charter probably represents such considerations, as well as those of self-interest, when it speaks of the object of securing for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security, "through cooperation in the economic field among all nations."

The premises of such cooperation were set forth in the study on international economic

collaboration, by the "Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems." They included the following: For any trading country it is essential that its potential customers shall be prosperous enough to absorb and pay for all the exports it has to sell. It is clear that financial and economic disturbances starting in one country tend to spread and to involve all countries engaged in international commerce. The unlimited exploitation of natural monopolistic advantages or existing industrial or financial superiority by one or a few countries not only restricts the permanent purchasing power of other countries, limits their production, and causes disturbances in their economies, but also tends to rouse in them a resentment, a sense of being among the have-not nations, which is one of the psychological factors making for war. Popular unrest arising from depressed economic conditions in a powerful nation may also make for war, by predisposing its population to follow leaders who promise to relieve these conditions by programs of expansion or seek to distract the public by sabre-rattling and nationalistic emotion. While the above premises reflect self-interest, they also reveal a growing awareness of an economic justice that is international in scope.

It is interesting to observe that Hocking in developing a positive foreign policy, in which he seeks to fuse the ideal and the prac-

relief work which is no real substitute for a normal job.

Then we must go on, ultimately, to face the problem of reducing the economic disparity between nations. The difference in price between synthetic rubber and natural rubber, for instance, is largely due to a difference in labor costs. Cheap native labor in the Dutch East Indies could produce rubber much more cheaply than American labor in synthetic rubber plants. Prior to the war not many of us were acquainted with the level of wages in the Dutch East Indies, but if all that we have been saying about economic interdependence means anything, it will be difficult for us not to be concerned with labor costs, even in such a remote spot. There must be international action to the end that products entering into international commerce would be based on wage scales that provide the essentials of a decent life. Peace itself depends on our ability to deal with such issues. For a world that is half prosperous and half poverty-stricken is in danger of global conflict.

President Roosevelt, in addressing the 1941 International Labor Conference, recognized the intimate relationship between social and economic problems when he said: "We have learned too well that social and economic problems are not separate water-tight compartments in the international any more than in the national sphere. In international, as

collaboration, by the "Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems." They included the following: For any trading country it is essential that its potential customers shall be prosperous enough to absorb and pay for all the exports it has to sell. It is clear that financial and economic disturbances starting in one country tend to spread and to involve all countries engaged in international commerce. The unlimited exploitation of natural monopolistic advantages or existing industrial or financial superiority by one or a few countries not only restricts the permanent purchasing power of other countries, limits their production, and causes disturbances in their economies, but also tends to rouse in them a resentment, a sense of being among the have-not nations, which is one of the psychological factors making for war. Popular unrest arising from depressed economic conditions in a powerful nation may also make for war, by predisposing its population to follow leaders who promise to relieve these conditions by programs of expansion or seek to distract the public by sabre-rattling and nationalistic emotion. While the above premises reflect self-interest, they also reveal a growing awareness of an economic justice that is international in scope.

It is interesting to observe that Hocking in developing a positive foreign policy, in which he seeks to fuse the ideal and the prac-

tical into a working unity, stresses many of the same considerations mentioned above. Our prosperity and that of other nations is inextricably bound up together. "However much we are willing to mind our own business," he says, "a great economy cannot and will not mind its own business. . . . The international version of laissez faire would be, Let every nation look out for itself . . . but the hurt done to other peoples, if it is serious enough, gets around home and suggests a prudential modification. No nation dare any longer be indifferent to the economic situation and destiny of other nations." If the above propositions are true they raise some very interesting questions concerning the treatment of conquered nations, and would suggest policies that may run counter to those bred in a spirit of revenge.

We sometimes labor under false illusions with regard to our domestic "prosperity." National statistics as to income never give the whole picture, for there is great variation from locality to locality. In one county in Kentucky, for instance, the average annual cash pre-war income did not exceed one hundred dollars per family. Under the stimulus of war jobs, with money coming back from persons employed in defense work in Ohio the average annual income rose to about four hundred dollars per family. But there were still few indications of "prosperity" in this

section. Poverty and disease continued widespread. Moreover conditions existing in this county can be duplicated in other places. It is true that when we compare the conditions in America with those existing in Asia, where standards as measured by per capita income are very low (per capita income in pre-war China being in the neighborhood of twenty cents a day, and in India five cents per day), we must admit that conditions in even the poorest sections of America are relatively good. But if we are thinking of economic justice we must not compare our condition with the worst living standards in the world, but rather with those which might obtain among us if we took our ideal seriously.

One of our major problems is that of full employment. E. J. Phelan, Acting Director of the ILO, has pointed out, however, that there is a dangerous illusion abroad with regard to employment. The problem is not, as many people think, simply that of jobs for all. Jobs are not an end in themselves, and full employment in itself will not automatically answer every social and economic question. Our concern must not be simply for jobs, but for jobs which result in material benefit and positive service to the world. They must be jobs that produce "goods and services for all." We want security but not security that is purchased at the price of employment in a slave state. Nor should we have, for any long period, that

relief work which is no real substitute for a normal job.

Then we must go on, ultimately, to face the problem of reducing the economic disparity between nations. The difference in price between synthetic rubber and natural rubber, for instance, is largely due to a difference in labor costs. Cheap native labor in the Dutch East Indies could produce rubber much more cheaply than American labor in synthetic rubber plants. Prior to the war not many of us were acquainted with the level of wages in the Dutch East Indies, but if all that we have been saying about economic interdependence means anything, it will be difficult for us not to be concerned with labor costs, even in such a remote spot. There must be international action to the end that products entering into international commerce would be based on wage scales that provide the essentials of a decent life. Peace itself depends on our ability to deal with such issues. For a world that is half prosperous and half poverty-stricken is in danger of global conflict.

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in national affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end in itself. It is merely a means for achieving social objectives." In commenting on this, E. J. Phelan, of the ILO has remarked, "political security, economic security and social security are different aspects of a single fundamental security which is indivisible and to which the active pursuit of social justice is the key." As long as twenty-five years ago there was written into the constitution of the International Labor Office the statement that "lasting peace cannot be established unless it is based upon social justice."

The particular function of religious leadership in a world society in relation to these economic problems is not at the point of dealing with issues such as the machinery whereby jobs and men can be brought together, but of interpreting, in the light of the Christian view of man, the conditions which will provide for human beings a position of dignity rather than of degradation and the fullest realization of all men's legitimate hopes and ambitions.

III

Stuart Chase has said that reasonably full employment is the issue upon which hangs the survival of democracy. There is another area of concern, however, which will be as much of a test of the survival of democracy as

jobs for all. At no point has there been greater economic injustice than in the treatment of the Negro in America. The problem of the Negro's economic position in American society has two major aspects. One concerns the conditions under which he participates in economic life as a factor in production. The other refers to what he gets out of the economic system as an income-receiver and consumer. As we think in terms of economic justice, there has been injustice at both points. Certainly the minimum demand on behalf of the Negro should be for equal economic opportunity for Negroes and whites who have the same abilities and qualities as workers, citizens, and consumers. Economic differences cannot be excused on the basis of differences in ability. No scientific evidence of any innate intellectual inferiority of the Negro race has ever been presented. The difference in treatment is based on prejudices and not on factual differences in ability. A principle of racial equality in regard to economic opportunities, does not of itself imply that there would be no poor Negroes, but only that the chances of becoming rich and the chances of becoming poor should be the same for Negroes as for Whites, within each social and occupational group. In contrast to this ideal of racial equality, the actual fact is that the Negro is the last to be hired and the first to be fired, and he is seldom paid a wage equal

to that of the white for the same work. It is interesting to note that in times of depression and unemployment from two to three times as many of the colored city workers will be found out of work as the native whites.

The problem of the Negro lies also at the point of getting promotion on the job, and of achieving the security which seniority ordinarily guarantees. If those who are Christians believe with Paul that "of one blood God hath made all nations," and that in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, nor black nor white, then they cannot rest content until something has been done to meet this problem constructively. Race riots are symptomatic of deep-seated ills which must be eliminated if the freedom we like to think of as characteristic of our democracy is to be a reality. In saying this we should not fail to recognize the complexity of this problem of race and the fact that with the best will in the world, there is no simple or easy way of dealing with it and finding solutions for it.

There are other problems in the field of economics which relate to the immediate needs for food, housing and clothing. To meet these needs international measures are necessary to provide the general framework of economic order without which national economic efforts would fail. Fortunately such measures have already been initiated, and in some instances are well advanced. They are

designed to alleviate the ills incident to the economic dislocations of the war, and to assist in bringing the populations of distressed areas to the place where they can begin developing their own economic plans. This immediate sharing of food and other resources, and the recognition of our responsibility for caring for destitute people whose security has been destroyed by world conflict, is a necessary prelude to greater economic interdependence which must be characteristic of the post-war world.

Finally, there are certain facts that we should bear in mind through all our concern with economic problems as they relate to the Christian community. First, it is important to see that there is a way between fanaticism on the one hand and complacency in respect to the existing order on the other. Intelligence is quite as important as courage in dealing with complex economic issues. There must be an understanding of the means and tempo of reconstruction. Shall we go by the longer democratic route or must our action be drastic? We need also to recognize that the Christian community is a fellowship which transcends differences of opinion on actual economic issues, and that the heart of the problem is the unmasking of the bias of all groups, whether they be capitalist, agrarian, middle class or workers. Each economic interest group must be helped to see that its

claims are coloured by self-interest and that the interests of the whole community are not identical with the interests of any one group. Self-knowledge is more important than knowledge of the sins of others. The acknowledgement of this fact marks the beginning of the process of social reconstruction. Until individuals and groups are willing to subject themselves to this kind of self-examination the road to justice will be barred.

CHAPTER IV

God-Kings and Cosmic Government

By

Douglas Gilbert Haring

AMONG the multiple trends of history, three appear pregnant with insight into some aspects of the contemporary world. These are: (1) god-kings and cosmic government in Asia; (2) the problem of feeding urban populations; and (3) the rise of secular politics and personal religion. Tentatively and in an exploratory mood, these three trends are chosen as the province of this essay. The first trend is stressed because it is relatively unfamiliar to Americans. The other two are merely sketched, since widespread acquaintance with broad stretches of pertinent history justifies summary treatment.

I

The belief in god-kings and in magical government looms in the mists of prehistory and still survives. The earliest origins of civilized societies involved religion, political magic,

and the problem of feeding concentrated populations.

The term civilization, in a limited sociological sense, denotes a specific pattern of social organization: i. e., a society constituted so that urban populations survive continuously. An urban population is composed of persons who obtain food and other essentials without direct contact with nature. The size of a city is less significant than the fact that farmers, herders, fishers, and others who produce directly from the earth, achieve a surplus beyond their personal needs. No invidious comparison of civilized and uncivilized societies is involved. Uncivilized peoples are neither better nor worse than civilized folk, but their social organization is different

Civil societies achieved the transition from prehistory to history when accumulating knowledge enabled men to meet the specific conditions of urban existence. Production of surplus foods, fibers, and other commodities was the prime condition. Such production has to satisfy a continuous demand; the surplus must include durable foods that could be transported and stored. A mere abundance of perishable foods at harvest time feeds no cities in lean months. Nor do hamlets grow into cities until inventors attain a minimum technology of transportation, water supply, architecture, and disposal of waste. Still more important, someone must devise

ways to induce the original producers to part with their surplus food.[1]

The enduring problem is that of getting the food away from the farmer. Long after technological problems were solved, urban populations starved when rural producers hoarded the surplus. Ten thousand years ago this problem was faced in the Nile Valley. In the 1920 decade it plagued Soviet officials. In the 1930s the United States created an A.A.A.; in 1943 American farmers hoarded corn in the face of urban importunity.

The priests of ancient Egypt devised the earliest method of parting the farmer and his surplus food. Favorable conditions had fostered agricultural progress. The Nile afforded easy transportation. But the surplus had to leave the farms if urban life were to develop. The priests had no prophetic vision of the civilization they created—they merely sought to live without working. By fair means and foul they convinced the farmers that the gods would withhold the life-giving waters of the Nile unless they were propitiated with generous offerings of food. The growers took no chances with starvation. Every year they delivered to the temples a tithe or more of their produce.

The gods generously consumed only the

1 *Cf.* Giddings, F. H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society,* N. Y., 1922, p. 87.
Haring, D. G., & Johnson, M. E., *Order and Possibility in Social Life,* N. Y., 1940, Chap. 25-26, esp. p. 486.

spiritual essence of the food. The priests got the bulk—and the vitamins. The farmers grew curious about the gods, so the priests made a god-king in visible form. When the king arose in the morning, his servant the sun also arose. When he retired the sun set. To clinch this miracle the priests studied the motions of the heavenly bodies and inadvertently created astronomy. Cannily they predicted the floods of the Nile. The conniving gods kept the secret of that mystery. Convinced, the farmers eagerly ministered to the deities and thereby became peasants.

Assured of abundant food and leisure the priests multiplied in numbers. Ritual was elaborated to insure jobs for all. New temples were erected. The god-king must have servants; soon a royal court did his bidding. Carpenters, architects, masons, sculptors, artists, weavers, potters, jewelers, and other craftsmen shared the divine bounty. The priests invented writing—perhaps to record divine mysteries, perhaps to keep tabs on delinquent peasants.

Thus the first civilized society rested squarely on the piety of Egyptian peasants. The Egyptian plan was effective. Secure behind impenetrable deserts, Nilitic society carried on while centuries merged into millenniums. The cultural achievements of ancient Egypt fertilized all subsequent civilization.[2]

2 *Cf.* Giddings, *op. cit.*, Chap. 5.

Mesopotamian societies present analogies to Egypt. The primitive squatters on the delta mud conserved and drained the marshy soil until it brought forth abundantly. Baked bricks and masonry construction were invented. Priests convinced the producers that their very lives hung upon the whims of the gods, and surplus grain poured into the temples. Kings impersonated the deities. Priests and servants of the gods—of the invisible as well as the visible deities—multiplied and urban societies developed around the temples and royal courts. As a means of keeping tab on the peasants, writing was invented—for the oldest temple records pertain to mundane economic transactions, not to theology.[3]

Mesopotamia boasted no friendly desert to hold invaders at bay. Moreover, many raw materials of urban economy—building stone, ores, gems, luxury foods—were situated at considerable distances from the Valley. The invention of wheeled vehicles made transportation feasible. Priestly fables, however, lacked power to coax these exotic commodities from their alien producers. Some of the royal overlords resorted to armies to wrest goods from distant tribes disinclined to trade. At other times, vigorous predatory tribes from afar swooped down to loot the rich cities.

The rapacious empires on the Euphrates

3 Childe, V. Gordon, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, London, 1941, pp. 159-161.

rarely endured. The alien conquerors posed as gods or representatives of the gods, but to usurpers the peasants yielded tribute reluctantly. Among the empire builders there were men who, like Adolph Hitler, lacked the foresight to spare the goose that laid the golden eggs. Ignorant of the rhythms of agriculture, men of war looted even the reserves of seed in order to feed their armies and cities. Refugees streamed to the cities. The armies were forced to range further afield in search of plunder. Devastation spread in ever-widening circles, until at length each robber-economy collapsed for want of accessible grain. After each collapse men turned again to the soil, and a fresh cycle impended.

The idea of war as systematic plunder seems to have arisen in this region. Organized warfare differs tremendously from tribal quarrels aimed at revenge or prestige. Primitive warfare often is played as a game; civilized warfare aims at extermination and plunder.

War as a means of feeding cities became a venerable tradition. This motif recurs again and again in the history of Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, and Imperial Rome. Herein lie the beginnings of *Geopolitik*. Yet in the twentieth century A. D. the plunderers prate of a "New" Order.

In the valley of the Indus there flourished one of the greatest civilizations of antiquity.

4 Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

Its people inhabited a continuous area "twice that of Old Kingdom Egypt and probably four times that of Sumer and Akkad."[4] Little is known of the patterns of Indic social organization. Was this society sustained by religion, by war, or by trade?

Excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa yield evidence of a luxuriant urban culture. Weapons, however, are few and inadequate. War could not have occurred frequently. Trade flourished in the cities, but it is not known clearly whether farmers offered their grain at the temples or dealt with traders. Evidences abound of religious practices similar to those of later India. These ruins refute the judgment that Hinduism is a degenerate development from lofty Vedic beginnings; Hinduism is as old as Sumer, possibly as ancient as Egypt. The role of religion in the rise of Indic civilization may be inferred speculatively from the subsequent exuberance of Hindu theology of the divine king.

Chinese civilization took form along the Hoang-ho some millenniums later than that of Western Asia. As soon as kings appear in Chinese history, their divine attributes are unmistakable. The ruler not only represents Heaven, he wields power in the supernatural cosmos.

Certain negative data, however, hint that neither priestcraft nor predatory armies laid the foundations of urban aggrandizement in

China. Early feudal states nurtured a rudimentary urbanism, but commercial exchange seems to have afforded a secular basis for civil society. In historical times China's cities rest so solidly on commerce that it is easy to assume that trade rather than priestcraft brought forth Chinese civilization. Nevertheless, from the earliest beginning, ritual and magic constituted the warp and woof of Chinese government.[5]

II

Thus in the four major centers of earliest civilization, government and religion are one. Kings are divine, gods are visible, and deity is master of destiny. Everywhere the priests wax fat, gather tithes into storehouses and thereby nurture urban economy.

Divine kings still reign in contemporary Asia. The fanatic soldiers of a modern god-king have shed American blood. Would-be peacemakers who envision a warless world face disillusionment unless they reckon with Asiatic religions of government. In Asia, government is cosmic, not political.

Cosmic government is discovered most adequately by study of historic developments in India—hence India receives major emphasis in this essay. The ritual and theology of the divine king were diffused widely in Asia, and

5 *Cf.* Creel, H. G., *The Birth of China,* London, 1936. Granet, Marcel, *Chinese Civilization,* London, 1930.

thence found acceptance in whole or in part throughout Europe, Africa, and Oceania. No one knows with certainty where the system of cosmic government originated, and there is much doubt as to the times and places of various special developments. But nowhere are the ritual and theology set forth so vividly as in the ancient Hindu writings, and there is ample evidence as to Hindu influence on the magico-political habits of most of the civilized world.[6]

What are these patterns of divine kingship and cosmic government? Why, for example, did the Jews demand that Samuel provide a king?[7] Why was Jehovah wroth at this demand—what happened to transform Saul into a competitor of Jehovah? The attempt to answer such questions leads directly to the greatest of all priestly mysteries. The records of that mystery are in the sacred books of India, especially in the specified ritual for the coronation of a king.[8] *Brahmin priests had learned how to transform a man into a god.*

The underlying theory of this cosmic mys-

6 *Cf.* Hocart, A. M., *Kingship,* Oxford, 1927; *Kings and Councillors, Cairo,* 1936. Frazer, Sir James, *The Golden Bough,* London, 1890 & subsequently. Heine-Geldern, Robert, "Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia," *Far Eastern Quarterly,* II: 15-30.
(A summary and critique of Hocart's theories appears in "The Position of the Ruler in Japan," by D. G. Haring, *Proc. Sixth Pacific Science Congress,* Berkeley, 1939, vol. IV.)

7 I Samuel 8.

8 *Satapatha Brahmana,* v.3.5.20ff.

tery is that by a priestly miracle the candidate for kingship undergoes a ritual death and is reborn as a god. The king-to-be "dies" as a man on the night before the coronation. He is invested with three garments that symbolize, respectively, the inner caul, the outer caul, and the womb of sovereignty. Ceremoniously these are removed and the god is born. He is anointed with oil as Asiatic babies are anointed at birth. A sacred drink introduces the divine essence into his body. Shoes are put on his feet, lest his divinity seep away into the earth. His crown symbolizes the sun, and his scepter is a thunderbolt. By magic steps and circumambulations he asserts his power over the universe and over his earthly realm.

Hindu theology assumes the ability of any god instantly to become another god. Generations of Brahmins have guarded jealously the esoteric mystery that all gods really are one. That accounts for the bewildering transformations in the Vedic hymns—the worshipper of Vishnu suddenly finds himself singing to Agni. Any god may become the sun, and the sun is any of the gods.

Soma, the intoxicating sacred drink, is messenger of the gods. Hence *soma* is a god—any god. Literally the drinker imbibes a god. In sacrificing *soma* the worshipper magically attains identification with the sacrifice. The sacrifice becomes a god; hence the worshipper and the god are one. He who drinks *soma*

feels divinity at work within himself. When at the coronation the candidate dies as a man, *soma* conveys divinity into his body and he is reborn a god-king. Since the king is a god, he is any god. He is Vishnu, he is Manu, he is the Sun. The function of Greek nectar and ambrosia, or of *spirits* in old England, becomes intelligible in the light of Hindu belief regarding *soma.*

Power over the cosmos inheres in the god-king. He is the sun, and therefore he effects its rising and setting. He is master of the seasons, of wind and rain, of fecundity and harvest. Hindu ritual provides him with a queen. The king is the sky, the queen is the earth. The ritual mating of king and queen fecundates all Nature. In their union the sky fertilizes the earth and enables the grain, the cattle, and mankind to reproduce. A barren queen is a cosmic catastrophe, to be disposed of at once. Suspicion as to the king's potency indicates a flaw in the coronation magic, and royal failures receive short shrift.[9] The priests perform another miracle on a more promising candidate. Every move of the king is fraught with magical import for the realm; his days are a ceaseless round of ritual.

The Hindu cosmos provides the patterns of court and capital. Gods dwell in heaven. Heaven tops Mt. Meru, center and culmination of the cosmos. Lesser heavens, precisely

9 *Cf.* Roheim, G., *Animism, Magic, and the Divine King,* London, 1930.

graded, adorn the slopes of the holy mountain. At its foot lies the world of men, encompassed by seven annular oceans and seven annular continents. Beyond the outermost ocean an impenetrable mountain wall seals in the universe.

The royal capital reproduces the cosmos in miniature. The palace is Mt. Meru, the throne is its summit. Magically the king is identical with the gods on the peak. Court officials are lesser deities on the slopes of the mountain; each official at his installation experiences a priestly miracle that transforms him into a deity of appropriate rank. The moats, streets, and walls of the capital duplicate the rest of the universe. The capitals of Burma, of Siam, and ruined Angkor Thom in Cambodia exemplify this pattern.[10]

By the principles of cosmic theology the king is the land and the land is the king. Hence the fruits of the earth and the people of the realm belong to the king. What is His no man dare withhold. Grain is brought willingly to the storehouses; priests, court, and city are fed. When the king sits on his throne in the sacred city, "God's in his heaven—All's right with the world."

Divine kings transcend mundane politics.

10 Under British Rule, the Burmese palace served as an officers' club. Shrewdly the Japanese restored the ancient symbolism, with due allowance for the fact of Japan's hegemony. *Cf.* Heine-Geldern, *Loc. cit.*, And on Siam, *cf.* Wales, H. Quaritch, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931.

Usually an ambitious junta of go-getters conducts the business of government under the sanctifying royal aegis. Such dual government attained frank institutional form in Polynesia and in Japan. Politically the god-king is a puppet but no one feels that way about him.

In the unrecorded past, India's priestly king-makers arrived at profitable answers to certain theological questions. Since a Brahmin can make a god, is not a Brahmin lord of gods and men? Cannot the creator of a god-king also make lesser deities? This specious logic enabled the Brahmins to tide over the lean years between royal coronations. Rich landlords dared not aspire to supreme godhood, but they paid well for intermediate ranks in the pantheon. The magical mystery of death and rebirth spawned a host of minor deities—and India's caste system took form.

Hindu castes are more than social classes. The initiation that establishes a man in his caste transforms his human essence into that of divinity. A Brahmin is not born a Brahmin. By heredity he is a candidate for divinity. As a youth he undergoes the ritual, dies as a man, and is reborn as a Brahmin. So with every member of the "twice-born" castes. Sudras and outcastes are incapable of transformation. Reformers who prate of the abolition of caste ignore the stubborn miracle of rebirth. No man-made law can abolish a divine miracle.

Cosmic government has been diffused over all Asia and the islands of the sea. Local interpretations and practices differ. One conspicuous variation occurs in Japan and in Polynesia. Here divinity is regarded as hereditary, and the priest as king-maker is eliminated. Japan's emperor crowns himself, since he is direct descendant and magical counterpart of the sun goddess. In lesser degree all Japanese claim divinity. They stem from a heavenly army that descended to earth under mandate from the sun goddess to "unite the eight corners of the universe under one roof." This ancient phrase—Hakkō Ichi-u—was Japan's slogan when her military forces were unleashed in 1941.

Japanese society has maintained a consistent feudalism. The divine nobility fed the priests from feudal revenues and thereby limited their activities to harmless ritual purifications. Japanese urbanism depended on feudal exactions. Even modern Japanese industrialism conforms to feudal patterns. Japan's overlords could imagine but one way to feed their mushroom cities: the way of conquest.[10a]

Buddhist theology introduced cosmic government to many Asiatic peoples, despite the fact that Buddhism originated as a revolt

10a School for Overseas Administration, Harvard University, JAPAN'S PROSPECT (Cambridge, 1946). Chapter VII describes the magico-religious aspects of Japanese government; Chapter I describes the "feudal" patterns of Japanese societal organization.

against Hindu theology and caste. Sakyamuni, the Blessed Buddha, proclaimed salvation to gods as well as to men. The common people welcomed Sakyamuni's gospel. But with the relentless irony of history, a priesthood transformed the gentle Buddha into a heavenly king who reigns eternally on Mt. Meru, and excluded the human Sakyamuni from the workaday world. Zealous missionaries converted Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, Tibet, China, and Japan to the adoration of the Eternal Buddha. On earth god-kings still reigned.

Renegade Brahmins, willing to sell the miracle for a price, bore the mystery of death and rebirth to Persia and created the mystery cults. The Hellenistic world succumbed to the intoxicating quest for godhood. The Mediterranean folk coveted endless life, in contrast to the Hindu search for an escape from reincarnation. The same priestly miracle sufficed for both. A score of mystery religions set standards that every competing cult must meet to gain adherents in Hellenistic territory. Alexander sought out a recluse in the Egyptian desert who knew the miracle—and lo, Alexander the God! The Caesars learned the trick; thenceforth Imperial Rome was ruled by a god-king to be worshipped above all gods.

Lesser folk turned to the mystery religions, such as the Dionysian mysteries and the gory baptismal rebirth and the cave-hidden miracle

of the miniature cosmos of Mithraism. Those esoteric cults provided the competition against which the early Christians struggled; thousands of converts came to the church from a background of previous belief in one or another of the mystery religions. Inevitably they interpreted Christian doctrine in terms of the ideas they had come to take for granted. They were prone to represent their deity as an Oriental god-king, panoplied with principalities, powers, angels, and a demiurge; Hebrew imagery served the needs of such minds as effectively as did the mystery cults. The consequences may be observed in subsequent Christian theology and more especially in ritual. The consecration of a Pope, for example, bears no hint of the Sermon on the Mount; but any wise Asiatic can recognize the birth of a god-king. The miracle that transforms a priest into a bishop antedates Rome by millenniums. Rome still stands as a mystic cosmic capital that may not be bombed though freedom perish and the people starve. Mundane kingships have been demoted to minor miracles, valid only at the hands of the Papal surrogate of the heavenly King.

III

Certain insignificant peoples avoided spiritual bondage to divine kings. On the fringes of the civilized world, religion and politics

escaped methodical subversion by crafty priesthoods. Unlettered tribes evolved governments of divers patterns. None of these peripheral peoples achieved technology adequate to urbanization until recent centuries.

In primitive England the folkmoots practiced local democracy long before Caesar's legions introduced cosmic government. The Norman conquerors promoted the imperial ideal, but autocracy and divine right never quite obliterated individual dignity and the common law. Farmers achieved a surplus that maintained a feudal nobility, then increasingly entered the channels of restless British trade to nourish the swelling cities. Outmoded land laws, hereditary classes, and a state church bolstered cosmic imperialism; but the people cherished democratic folkways and the King became human. Cosmic destiny, however, dies hard, and the Empire continues.

The nomads of Central Asia cherished from time immemorial a vague monotheism—a faith in a just deity above and beyond the patter of shamans. This tradition bore fruit in Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism. The lonely herdsman sought his deity in solitude. Nomad religions were personal, not state-centered.

North American aborigines also quested the supernatural in silent forest, plain, or mountain. Solitary youths fasted in the wilderness to gain each his guardian spirit.

Piety escaped enslavement to statecraft. Statecraft in turn acknowledged individuals, and tribes were ruled by councils. The Iroquois achieved a democratic League of Nations that functioned for centuries.[11]

European refugees from divine right gradually forged a democratic society in the wilds of North America. Settlers met the Indians and observed their councils. Informal friendships of whites and Indians—on the trail, by council fires, and centered in hospitality of longhouse and log cabin—won scant notice in historical chronicles. But many a colonist winced when Indian sachems inquired, "Why delay a year for permission from your remote King? We need no King; we talk together, decide, and act!"[12]

In due season a nation without a king took form. Tory opponents of democracy fled from the rebellious colonies—a circumstance that strengthened democratic idealism in the new nation. Statecraft and religion were divorced. A Constitution secularized politics and forbade any religious test for public officers. Since public officials were men, not

11 *Cf.* Goldenweiser, A.A., *Early Civilization,* N. Y., 1922, Chap. III.
Mosher and associates, *Introduction to Responsible Citizenship,* N. Y., 1941, Chap. 5.
Murdock, G. P., *Our Primitive Contemporaries,* N. Y., 1934, Chap. XI.
Radin, Paul, *Social Anthropology,* N. Y., 1932, Chapter V.

12 *Cf.* MacLeod, W. C., *The American Indian Frontier,* N. Y., 1928.

gods, they were held responsible to law. The ideals of English democracy and Amerindian practice were embodied in the Constitution of the United States—a code of law for control of rulers and lawmakers. Under that code abuse of authority is punishable, incompetent officials may be impeached and successors chosen without resort to rebellion, assassination, or priestly miracles.

Since the United States acknowledged neither god-king nor state church, worship became a personal prerogative. Universal secular education untrammelled by priestly intrigue or poisonous official dogma, became a reality. Secular politics, rational economics, free speech and assembly, urban populations fed by trade, the ideal of a classless society—all fused in a new pattern of living that denies even lip-service to the counterfeit deities of Mt. Meru.[13] Democracy's coming of age challenged all god-kings, cosmic states, and predatory despots.

Secure behind two oceans, Americans failed to sense the violence of that challenge. But god-kings and robber barons saw the issue: America must be destroyed lest men discover freedom.

The divine lords of Asia's first industrialized state quailed at the vigor of the demo-

13 *Cf.* Mosher and associates, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 9, 10, 12, 29-34.
Haring, D. G., *Blood on the Rising Sun*, Phila. 1943, Chap. X.

cratic ideal and feared for their god-emperor. For fifty years they plotted and mobilized to "unite the eight corners of the universe under one roof." The Japanese discovered kindred spirits in Germany and Italy. The ghosts of the Holy Roman Empire and Imperial Rome saluted the Sun Goddess. Europe's dark ages had not ended with the Renaissance; fortified with new weapons, robbers still plunder the peasants to feed their urban vassals. Mt. Meru looms above Berlin. Did not Sebastian Franck write in 1548, "Our nature is divine, absolute being realizes itself in us, and we are the reality of God"?[14]

As the wolves gathered for the kill, an embarrassed Vatican wavered between cosmic absolutism and the democratic idealism of rich American churches. More potent was fear of that other secularism, the Soviet. Rome understood cosmic government and welcomed a Japanese ambassador. The familiar pattern of divine right outweighed the accident of paganism.

Seldom have the issues of human destiny been so clear. On one side Mt. Meru survives and the state is god. Cosmic government has been allied with brute tyranny against the dignity of free individuals, secular politics, personal religion, rational economics, secular education, and democratic idealism. Urban

14 Quoted by Philip Hemenway Chadbourne, "Behind the Russo-German Headlines," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 42:401, *q.v.*

populations that live by commerce have fought urban populations deluded by mystical rackets into hope of military loot.

Does victory for the United Nations assure the triumph of the democratic way in politics and religion? Not while two-thirds of mankind still believe that kings are gods by miracle or descent. Not while Asia's cosmos centers in Mt. Meru and millions of Christians bow before the same mountain.

The surest weapon of democratic idealists is the scientific mood. God-kings and divine surrogates survive by the credulousness of the masses. Science fosters uncompromising honesty; the scientific habit of mind can be learned and knowledge can be diffused. If the robber states can prostitute science to enslave man, how much more can free peoples use honest facing of facts to break those chains! Freedom from fear is born of slow education of individuals to think independently. Democracy depends upon untrammelled education, free research, and honest news.

The war of minds will center in Asia. Asiatics can destroy secular civilization once they master its mechanical tools. Japan has demonstrated that Occidentals are vulnerable and that Asiatics can turn mechanical skill to the service of Mt. Meru's pantheon. Many an Asiatic is convinced that Japan's only fault was limited resources. Chinese folk-democracy still falls short of

political achievement. Hindus still dwell in the vivid presence of Mt. Meru's hoary and kaleidoscopic deities. Perhaps democratic ideas are stirring Asiatic minds, but Asiatics have not yet achieved responsible secular government instead of cosmic mystery and muddle.

Is there a chance that democratic idealism, secular education and politics, and scientific faith in uncompromising honesty will receive vigorous support from personal religion? Can Christians emerge from the paralysing legacy of cosmic government and Hellenistic mysteries into a free religion of secular democracy? Will the Galilean who scorned priestly miracles sweep away Mt. Meru, or will his followers repeat the historic tragedy of denial?

CHAPTER V

The Tragedy of the Jew

By

Willard Lyon Johnson

NO WORD is more adequate than "tragedy" to describe that which has happened to the Jewish people during the past fifteen centuries. In our modern world, even in its most "civilized" parts, the Jewish people have endured hell-on-earth. Fifty years ago the pogroms of Russia resulted in the death of many helpless and innocent Jews and in the migration of some one and a half to two million penniless and soul-scarred victims to this land of refuge. But even this tragic story is dwarfed by the Nazi barbarities which virtually exterminated the Jews of Europe and reduced the world's Jewish population by more than a fourth.

Two aspects of the Nazi persecution make the Russian pogroms pale into relative insignificance; first, the Nazi persecution was a deliberate state policy of extermination by fiendish methods of dealing torture and death, and second, the haven of refuge available to Russian victims in the United States at the turn of the century has been virtually closed since the Nazi campaign began.

"Tragedy" is a mild word to describe such events.

I

This Jewish tragedy, however, is for many reasons a Christian tragedy as well. Professor Moehlman was right in naming it the "Christian-Jewish tragedy."

In the first place, the suffering of the Jews has taken place in countries dominantly Christian. Countless numbers of Christians, nominal Christians, at least, have participated in or given tacit consent to the persecutions. Even clergymen have not been exempt from participation.

The most that can be said in defense of such behavior is that Christians did not recognize the meaning of anti-Semitism, but that fact in itself is a condemnation. The major indictment is that these Christians, who comprised the dominant group in the society where anti-Semitism has existed, not only participated in the persecution but, as the dominant group with power to halt the violence, did not do so.

Now, after so many centuries, Christian leaders are coming to realize the meaning of anti-Semitism. But anti-Semitism, chiefly because of the universal and intensive propaganda campaign of the Nazis has so permeated our modern world that the most comprehensive Christian strategy is required to reduce it to minimum levels. Most Christian leaders have only reached the point of condemna-

tion. They know little about the educational procedures necessary to eliminate anti-Semitism or at least to reduce it to the level of simple person-to-person prejudice.[1]

Indeed, it is still necessary to convince some Christians that anti-Semitism is one of their major concerns. When confronted with the problem many Christians evade the issue by saying that the real trouble lies with the Jews themselves (this in the face of the fact that anti-Semitism occurs widely in communities where few Jews live and among people who have never so much as seen a single Jew!)

For several inescapable reasons, anti-Semitism is a basic Christian concern. To begin with, some animosity toward Jews has arisen from Christian teachings.

The New Testament contains passages—not only the crucifixion story but others, which stem from early Christian-Jewish conflict and which carelessly read and taught, have kindled prejudice through the years. Even today they constitute one source of hostility toward Jews in the minds and hearts of Christians, young and old. Used wisely in the framework of Christian ethics and the perspective of history, these passages need not

1 It is helpful to distinguish between anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish prejudice. The latter may, and often does, provide fertile toil for the former but anti-Semitism is much more than dislike for one Jew or for the entire Jewish group. Anti-Semitism, rather, is the conscious effort to encourage others to dislike Jews and the use of such prejudice for purposes of political power or personal profit.

create bias in any degree whatever.

To be sure, the causes of any prejudice such as anti-Semitism are manifold and complex. They are to be found in economic stress and conflict, in social heritage and in psychological conditions. Political agitators and demagogues have spread the antagonisms like prairie fire. Once a stereotype becomes general, a part of the social structure, only drastic measures can destroy or reduce it.

One of the most satisfactory explanations of the rise and perpetuation of group conflict is the frustration-aggression thesis. For various historical reasons involving antagonism of all kinds and because of group pride, loyalty and chauvinism, most of us feel that our own groups, religious, racial, and national are superior and others are inferior. Certain of these "out-groups" have become especially disliked by others.

Then when persons are frustrated or insecure, when ambitions are not realized, when calamity or failure come, it is normal to blame other persons. So we project our frustrations upon these scapegoats. They become victims of unfair attitudes, discrimination and even persecution. Further rationalization depicts them as inferior and so not deserving of equality and justice.

The cure for prejudice, then, must occur at both ends of the frustration-aggression chain. A secure society must be built, opportunity given for adjustment of personality insecurity

and abnormality, and insistence on self-implication in the ills and misfortunes of the world. At the other end, a process of comprehensive education must break down the stereotypes about groups and lead to respect of persons as individuals and as equals. Religion should work at all these remedial and preventive aspects.

The fact remains, however, that one of the original causes of anti-Semitism was the splitting of Christianity from Judaism, followed by the economic and social disabilities and repressions heaped upon Jews by Christians when Christianity became the official state religion and demanded conversion from all citizens of the state.

To be sure, anti-Semitism antedates Christianity but it has been expressed within the body of Christianity. Writing recently, Rabbi Louis Finkelstein said,

> It is reasonable to assume, that in order the more clearly to dissociate itself from the Jewish tradition and to prevent a reversion of Christianity into Judaism, early Christianity felt compelled to tolerate the persistence of anti-Semitism. In any event, there can be little doubt that in so far as anti-Semitism teachings have persisted in the framework of Christianity, they are a heritage of pre-Christian paganism, vestiges of the resentment of Egyptians against the story of Moses and the Exodus, and the political demagoguery of the Seleucid rulers in their war on the Maccabees.[2]

2 *Group Relations and Group Antagonisms,* R. M. Mac Iver, pp. 90-1.

Several Christian scholars, notably George Foote Moore, Travers Herford and Conrad Henry Moehlman have made basic contributions to the Christian interpretations which are so essential to understanding and amity between Christianity and Judaism. The tragedy is that the teachings of these men have penetrated so slowly and so slightly into the daily teaching routine and philosophy of Christianity. Their work, of course, is relatively recent and some progress has been made, but modern anti-Semitism is so devastating to society that the process of educating people so they are armed against it must be accelerated sharply.

One indication of the lack of understanding of Jews by Christians is the common use, for example, of the term "Pharisee" as synonymous with "legalistic hypocrite." Another instance is the widespread feeling that Christianity is a religion of the spirit while Judaism is a religion of iron-clad law. The fact is that some of the crassest legalism in the realm of religion has been found in certain Christian circles and some of the richest spiritual life of the world has occurred within the fold of Judaism.

The ignorance of Christians about Judaism and Jews, and likewise of Jews about Christianity and Christians, is appalling. If Christianity and Judaism are to be able to stand together for a decent world and the Kingdom of God, understanding must increase. Chris-

tians need not sacrifice their conviction about the conversion of Jews to Christianity to effect such amity. True understanding is not built on compromise of faith.

Significant attempts toward understanding are in process. Many Protestant denominations are using religious education materials devoted to understanding the Jewish people. A notable achievement was the 1943-4 home missions study of the Missionary Education Movement entitled, *The Church and America's Peoples,* the teaching materials of which[3] included numerous sections devoted to the Jewish people, properly placing the so-called Jewish problem in the whole framework of human relations.

A similar project in Roman Catholic circles gives equal promise since it involves the publication of books for long-term use by Catholic parochial schools. This venture is the work of the Commission on American Citizenship founded in 1937 by the hierarchy and which includes Jews and Protestants as well as Catholics on its boards. Its chief work has been the publication of the "Faith and Freedom Readers"[4] for all grades in parochial schools, devoted to improved citizenship and containing many sections which deal realistically with the problem of religious and racial group relations.

The first reason then why anti-Semitism is

3 Published by Friendship Press.
4 Ginn & Company.

a Christian problem is that Christianity itself must bear a considerable share of the responsibility for the historic status of the Jews.

In the second place, modern anti-Semitism is essentially anti-Christian by its very nature. Anti-Semitism has always been antithetical to Christianity for any widespread hatred in society is an obstacle to the practice of Christian love and respect for human dignity. Moreover, hate and prejudice are disastrous to those who hold them as well as to the objects of the attitudes. Christians who dislike and persecute others are violating both Christian principles and their own personality and integrity.

Modern anti-Semitism, however, is essentially anti-Christian because the major modern anti-Semites are determined to paganize the world. Thus they attack Christians as well as Jews. While they have usually singled out Jews first they have so concealed their motives and played on existing or latent prejudices that Christians did not realize that their own safety depended on defense of the Jews.

In Germany, the Nazis actually sought, from the beginning, the destruction of both Christianity and Judaism and the substitution of a neo-paganism for both. Because the ethical principles of Judaism and Christianity are practically identical, it was inevitable that the Nazis would attack both. But it was not strategic to attack both simultaneously. It

was wise for the Nazi to attack the weaker group first and to set the two groups against each other through divisive propaganda, unifying the Germans against a common scapegoat and obscuring the real issues. Thus Christianity and Judaism were attacked singly but, more important, they were so divided that many Christians actually were led to take part in the attack on the Jews and thus on themselves.

A similar strategy was attempted by the Nazis in other parts of the world including the United States. A vast sum of money was spent by the Nazi propagandists here. A few Christian leaders, both Protestant and Catholic, gave assistance to its dissemination. Not only were these men denying the Christian principles of love and individual judgment as opposed to stereotype generalizations; they were also taking part in a campaign to divide this country into warring segments, to confuse the basic issues at stake and to prevent our participation in the struggle to exterminate fascism. They were contributing to what might have become their own doom and the subjugation of Christianity.

We are only slowly coming to realize that we are our brother's keeper, (perhaps it is better to say we are our brother's brother), not only for his sake but for our own. In our modern society we are members of a single body and if one part of the body is injured the entire body suffers. Such is the nature of this

closely knit, family-size nation of the United States in our tiny world. Whatever harms one group in our society weakens our society and thus harms all of us. If Negroes or Jews or Catholics or Orientals or any group is persecuted or victimized by discrimination a precedent is set which may eventually involve everyone. Each violation is a hole in the dyke holding back the flood waters of oppression and totalitarianism.

But especially does intolerance open the way for demagogues to appeal to the underprivileged and insecure, gain a following, divide society, rise to power and seize freedom from the dominant groups which participated in or gave consent to the initial intolerance. Such is the nature of our society and our freedom. Both are indivisible.

For these reasons; because Christianity gave early impetus to anti-Semitism, because modern anti-Semites actually are striking at the whole Judeo-Christian tradition and at civilization itself, because society and freedom are indivisible and because the concern of one is the concern of all, Christians must assume the eradication of anti-Semitism as one of their major burdens.

True, Jews can help. They can exert group pressure to keep levels of Jewish conduct on a high plane (as indeed they are now); but it is unfair to ask more of Jews than we ask of any other group.[5] Do we, for example, ask

5 One of the prime fallacies in the contention that a

Baptists or Methodists or Presbyterians to assume responsibility for the acts of their individual crooks or offensive characters? Do we attribute such delinquency to the group?

II

The major responsibility for ending anti-Semitism resides with Christians. How can it be done?

First a word of caution. Nineteen centuries of hostility cannot be overcome overnight. The results of Russian and Nazi pogroms are stamped on the soul of both Jews and Gentiles for decades to come. Justice for Jews? Yes, as rapidly and comprehensively as possible, but despite our best efforts, true understanding and good will may not be accomplished for many decades, perhaps generations.

It should be realized that little good is accomplished solely by condemning any prejudice such as anti-Semitism or by analyzing its causes for the average person. This has been one of our shortcomings. We have thought that condemnation and analysis would remove the bigotry.

Few people recognize or admit prejudice in themselves. Most people feel that others are biased. Few people even know the mean-

persecuted group should correct its own faults so that prejudice against it may be diminished is that prejudice is often perpetuated from generation to succeeding ones without necessary repetition of any of the original causes.

ing of the term anti-Semitism. Furthermore, many of those who call loudly for action have done little to translate the problem into terms of daily life situations. It is probably necessary that every social problem pass through this stage of analysis and condemnation but it is lamentable that millions of Jews have suffered so terribly while Christians were, on the whole, either engaged in discussions about the problem or failing to accept their responsibility.

Condemn the church as we will for inaction, however, there are two facts which are obvious. First, if anti-Semitism is to be halted the major burden will rest on the educational processes of the Christian church and the public school. Second, much of the major resistance to Nazi anti-Semitism came from many European Christians who risked life and limb to save their Jewish neighbors from the Nazi horror. When the history of Europe from 1935 to 1945 is finally written the pages will glow with the stories of heroic Christians who saved at least part of the Jews scheduled for death by the Nazis.

What, then, are some of the specific steps of action in which Christians should engage to overcome anti-Semitism?

1. Christians should avail themselves of every possible opportunity to exhibit friendliness and genuine good will to their Jewish neighbors. There is no substitute for friend-

ship among members of diverse groups. This can be given a practical turn by such activities as acknowledging gratitude to one's Jewish neighbors, for the contributions of Judaism and the Jewish people both to Christianity and western civilization, by opposing discrimination and rumor directed against the Jewish people and by insisting that Jews be included in every community enterprise as daily routine.

Good will means good action. If Christian attitudes to Jews are to become meaningful, Christians must act habitually in helpful ways. For instance, if a Christian verbalizes against anti-Semitism and then allows an anti-Semitic rumor to go unchecked or fails to protest a "Christianity only" policy of employment, he is making of himself a hypocrite and contributing to the downfall of our whole civilized world and its values. On the other hand, if he checks the rumor or opposes the discrimination he expresses true good will and contributes to the well being of both Jews and Christians.

2. The Christian church must make the study of group relations, including Christian-Jewish relations, an integral and central part of its religious education. What has been done on that score up to this time is only a beginning. The truth is that neither religious nor secular educators are too familiar with methods to create attitudes of good will in boys and girls. But we are learning and

certain elementary principles have been established.

One of the established facts is that a simple explanation of the common aspects of Christianity and Judaism and a friendly interpretation of the Jewish people for children and youth is one of the preventives of anti-Semitism.

Respect for people who differ from us can be inculcated in children. Our failure to teach such respect in the past has been largely due to a deplorable demand for uniformity. Actually democracy is an ensemble of groups and its only meaning is that every individual shall be guaranteed freedom and justice without conforming to any single pattern of life. Unity derives from common humanity, common loyalties and common aspects of the larger culture pattern of which varied culture groups are parts.

The New Testament can be taught with historical accuracy and so interpreted that Christians derive from its pages respect for Jews rather than animosity. As indicated above, some passages of the New Testament have been so taught that contemporary Jews have suffered. A casual reading of the book of Acts with this point in mind will reveal several such possibilities. For example, the phrase "the Jews stirred up the mob against Paul," occurs repeatedly. In days when anti-Semitic propaganda is in the air and when it reaches the ears of many children almost

daily, meticulous interpretation of these conflict passages is essential for youngsters whose sense of historical perspective is undeveloped.

There is some feeling that this point has been over-emphasized. The probable truth is that, if a conscious attempt is made by religious educators to overcome anti-Semitism, such details will be handled as part of the whole process.

These things we know and we must proceed immediately to make them universal in Christian teaching and practice.

3. Every Christian seminary should bring to its students training for the ministry, Jewish rabbis to help provide an understanding of the Jewish people, their beliefs and practices. Judaism and the Jewish people should be interpreted for future Christian leaders by Jews themselves. In no other way can the correct emotional and intellectual interpretation be achieved.

Why should Christian seminaries not arrange survey courses on Judaism by rabbis and Jewish seminaries reciprocate with survey courses on Christianity by Christian clergymen? Understanding, rather than conversion would, of course, be the purpose and motive.

4. Rabbis should be invited to membership in community ministerial associations or clergy councils. It is true that most ministerial associations are largely Protestant, and

therefore, concerned chiefly with Protestant Christian issues, but many communities have had most profitable experiences with clergy groups inclusive of all faiths. In some communities, such as Freeport, New York, all clergymen including Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Negro and white, are members of an inclusive group and there is a Protestant association as well.

5. Christian parents should be equipped to train their children to respect those of other creeds and races as individuals. No program of religious education is truly effective unless the basic attitudes deriving from the home are consonant with the church program. Many parents, however, are incapable of such education even when they wish to undertake it.

Since all educators are agreed that intergroup attitudes develop early in life, any realistic program of religious education should train parents, and provide materials for the inculcation of basic Christian attitudes toward members of other culture groups.

Such intricate problems are involved yet they are surmountable. For example, child psychologists say that the almost unconscious shielding of young children by parents when members of other groups are encountered, thus making the children feel especially protected in the presence of these people, is a partial explanation of later attitudes of hostility. Yet, if well-intentioned parents know

this simple fact, part of the solution would be evident.

One of the most important preventives of prejudice is the training of children to judge people on the basis of individual characteristics, by deeds rather than group labels. This is not enough, to be sure, for groups *as such* are a normal part of our life and intergroup respect is as essential as person to person respect. We cannot eliminate group consciousness nor should we try.

Despite these difficulties, it is good religion, good democracy, and good common sense to keep emphasizing the principle that there are good, bad and indifferent members of all groups and that each man must be considered for what he does. Even then, a Christian must be forgiving of an individual's anti-social conduct and ask himself, "Did I help maintain, at least not try to eliminate, those environmental factors responsible for his actions?"

For example, many Christians are disturbed by what they consider "Jewish aggressiveness." Two things must be kept in mind in this connection: (1) when we observe aggressiveness our training makes it especially noticeable and we fail to realize that there are many Jews who are not overaggressive; indeed many are victims of inferiority feelings (and why don't we notice instances of Gentile aggressiveness or attribute it to the group when we see it?) and (2)

if there are more than to be expected over-aggressive members of minority groups, for example Jews or Negroes, are not their actions attributable to their determination to prove themselves in the face of restrictions and discriminations which are the fault of the dominant groups?

If anti-Semitism is to be reduced from its revolutionary plane of organized political activity against democracy, all civilization, and all religion to the simpler plane of individual Christian-Jewish relations, a major burden resides with the Christian churches. All Christian bodies have protested, time after time.[6] It now remains for Christian churches to take the next steps through their educational and social action departments to put into effect their high resolve. If they so act, and parallel programs are developed within public education, anti-Semitism can be reduced to non-dangerous levels and the Jewish people can have the chance to live as the children of God they are.

6 For a survey of Christian opposition to anti-Semitism see *Christians Protest Persecution* by the editors of Religious News Service, published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1943.

CHAPTER VI

Inherited Divisions Within Christianity

By

Earl Frederick Adams

JESUS evidently feared that his followers might ultimately become divided. In the prayer which he uttered just before his betrayal, it is recorded (John 17:23) that he prayed concerning those who should believe in Him that "they may be made perfect in one." It is one of the tragedies of religious history that those who bear the name of Christ have been divided into so many sects and denominational groups. Certainly, in a time like the present, religion is needed as a unifying force throughout the world. To realize that in the eyes of countless thousands it is looked upon as a basis of division is a sad commentary on the way in which the human factors so often overshadow the divine factors in the development of organized religion.

I

In many ways, of course, the division within Christianity is more apparent than it is real. When Christians confront each other

they become conscious of their differences. When they confront the secular evils of the world, they become more conscious of a basic unity which does bind them together in spite of differences in theology, ritual, ecclesiastical organization or racial and national bases for sectarianism. The picture is not altogether dark, although the problem involved is one of increasing importance for all who would make any pretense of religious leadership in the world of today and tomorrow.

Perhaps the principal factor for religious leaders to bear in mind is the truism that it is easier for people to work together in a worthy cause than it is for them to believe alike in the realms of theology and religious faith. This has been demonstrated countless times in religious history. For instance, the Oxford conference on Life and Work received more universal acclaim throughout Christendom than the companion conference held at Edinburgh on the subject of Faith and Order.

It has been amply demonstrated that interdenominational efforts can make real progress in the realm of Christian Life and Work. The situation prevailing in Protestantism today in the United States provides a good illustration, for the following interdenominational organizations have merited and won the support of most of the major denominations and some of the lesser ones.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

The Foreign Missions Conference

The Home Missions Council

The International Council of Religious Education

The Missionary Education Movement

The United Council of Church Women

The Council of Church Boards of Higher Education

The United Stewardship Council

This list of permanent interdenominational agencies has been considerably augmented during the war period by a considerable number of temporary agencies designed to meet special needs in the area of Christian Life and Work. Among them are the following:

The General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains.

The Church Committee on Relief and Reconstruction.

The Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace.

The Commission on Racial and Minority Groups.

The Christian Commission on Camp and Defense Communities.

The Commission on Aliens and Prisoners of War.

The Committee on the Conscientious Objector.

These agencies, both permanent and temporary, have flourished largely because of

their non-theological character. No one of them seeks to achieve unity in the realm of Faith and Order. All are designed to achieve cooperation in the realm of Christian Life and Work. In other words, those who do not believe alike in the realms of doctrine and sacraments find it quite logical to work together in the realm of Christian Service in the face of a needy world.

At present writing a strong movement is underway to achieve a merger of the permanent agencies mentioned above by the formation of an all-inclusive National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. The proposal envisions four major Divisions dealing respectively with The Church and The Community, Foreign Missions, and Christian Education. This coordination of all permanent Interdenominational Agencies would mark a major step forward in the field of Protestant cooperation in America. It would not, however, eliminate the existing divisions in Christendom, for it does not even suggest the elimination of denominations but seeks on the foundation of denominationalism to build a structure of Christian cooperation. Neither does it include Catholicism—and the breach between Catholics and Protestants is one of the most unbridgeable chasms in Christendom, not only in America but around the world.

All of which simply sharpens up our prob-

lem by pointing out that very real progress is possible in the area of cooperation between certain of the inherited divisions within Chrisdom but that the elimination of the divisions themselves is a deep-seated and stubborn problem for those who aspire to religious leadership in the emerging World Society.

Oversimplification of the problem would only befog the issue. There is no easy solution and a problem which has been centuries in the making will not be solved overnight. That is no reason, however, for us to evade the issue or refuse to face it. Those who claim one common Lord as the revealer of divine truth ought surely to be able to rise above their differences and join hands in some form of World Fellowship of Christians if we are ever to play an important role in the shaping of a new World Society. In the world of our generation humanity is being forced increasingly to establish sound principles upon the basis of which the citizens of a common world with all of its centripetal forces can live together.

Initial steps have already been taken in the establishment of a more united Christendom though The World Council of Churches (now in process of formation) and The International Missionary Council.

The World Council of Churches is an outgrowth of the Oxford and Edinburgh Con-

ferences on Life and Work, and Faith and Order. This new fellowship embraces practically all of the major divisions of Christendom except the Roman Catholic Church. The absence of this latter body from The World Council of Churches simply re-emphasizes the wide chasm which exists between that body and the other divisions of Christendom. While the war has delayed the actual formation of the World Council as such, it is evident that even in its provisional form this undertaking is one of the most significant Christian efforts of the present generation and holds much promise for the future.

The International Missionary Council is not ecclesiastical in its structure (as is the World Council of Churches) but is a cooperative organization brought into being by the Foreign Mission Boards and Societies of all nations having any sizeable Christian community. This body has done much to achieve a sense of interracial and international Christian fellowship through the contacts and mutual interests growing out of the world wide Foreign Mission enterprise. It has also helped to foster the development of National Christian Councils in many nations. By its very nature, however, it does not seek to eliminate divisions but to bridge them over in the interests of the expansion of Christianity throughout the world.

II

Thus far in this chapter we have simply assumed the problem of inherited divisions without any attempt at analysis. Perhaps now we ought to face the problem directly and seek to discover its root causes. A knowledge of the reasons for division might help to point the way to some possible solution, even though the solution, if found, be only partial and not wholly possible of immediate achievement.

What then has led to these divisions of Christendom—divisions which have multiplied with the passing of the centuries and have been handed on from generation to generation as perennial problems within the Christian family. We shall not try to analyze all of the divisions—that is a task for the students of history and is an undertaking far beyond the scope of this brief chapter. In general, the nature of the divisions are so well known to religious leaders that we may feel warranted in discussing the problem without listing the scores of divisions.

Out of the many complex causes of schismatic movements five general bases of division seem to emerge.

In the first place, there are differences in ecclesiastical organization and authority. The various breaks with the Roman Catholic Church are illustrative of this type of divi-

sion. Rejection of the papacy and the whole ecclesiastical system which has grown up around it have led to the divisions which resulted in the Eastern Orthodox Church and the whole Protestant movement in general. Various sub-divisions within Protestantism are also due to differences over ecclesiastical organization and the source of authority within a given church. Thus we have contrasts between the groups with a general episcopal form of organization and those based on the so-called congregational type of church government. The ramifications of this type of division are almost too numerous to mention.

A second general cause of division rests back on differences over ritualism and sacramentalism. In this category fall differences over the interpretation and administration of the various Christian rites, such as Communion and Baptism. In this general category we might also place certain differences over the conception of the priestly functions of the clergy, the method and nature of ordination to the ministry or priesthood, and subsequent variations in prayer and worship. Some groups believe in the priesthood of all believers and the direct approach of the individual to God while others conceive of the priesthood as a special possession of those who have entered into apostolic succession as special mediators between man and God.

A third and exceedingly complex source of

divisions roots back in variations of theological belief and doctrine. As illustrative of this we might point to the fragmentation of denominational organizations at the time of the struggle over Arminianism. The doctrines of Calvinism were too rigid for many devout seekers after truth and they felt impelled to break away from established Christian churches and from new branches for the propagation of differing theological doctrines. The tensions over views advocated by such groups as the Unitarians and Universalists are still very real in many branches of Protestantism. These and countless other divisions are basically theological in their nature.

As a fourth general cause of division we point to political and national differences. Thus we have the Russian Orthodox, the Greek Orthodox, the Syrian Orthodox and numerous other political or national branches, especially in the Balkan States. Similarly we have the Church of England with its close historic alliance with the British throne, the German Lutheran, the Swedish Lutheran, the Dutch Reformed and scores of other national groupings. The deviations and variations within these divisions are also numerous as these general Christian groups have spread to new language groups and have been transplanted to other nations.

A fifth factor to be mentioned is that of

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Race. In certain parts of the world this cause does not loom large. In other places it is significant. Here in America the problems of racial segregation have naturally given rise to divisions over the color line and the same thing is true in varying degrees in other places.

Other factors can, of course, be enumerated but these five phases of the problem emerge as of primary importance in any attempt to understand the prevalent divisions within Christendom.

These divisions naturally multiply as centuries go by. Like a tree with common roots and one trunk the various branches go on sub-dividing as the tree continues to grow. This adds to the problem—but hope is still to be found in the fact that all branches have a common rootage, and they all seek to produce the same kind of fruitage in the realm of Christian Life and Character.

III

The problem for religious leadership in the emerging World Society would seem to resolve itself into the task of minimizing the points of difference and magnifying the points of agreement between these inherited divisions of Christendom.

He who seeks to deal with this problem in any adequate way would do well to return

to Jesus for his inspiration. How would He deal with this problem—and how basic are the points of difference when measured by the life and teachings of Jesus?

When we seek to re-capture the true spirit of Jesus we soon discover that he was not primarily concerned with such things as ecclesiastical organization, ritualism, sacramentalism, theology or racial and national differences. These things all have their proper place but in the mind of Christ they were subordinate and did not loom as matters of primary significance.

Basically and primarily, Jesus was concerned for the spiritual and physical well-being of people everywhere. He was constantly seeking to minister to human needs in the name and spirit of God the Father of all mankind. Jesus came "not to be ministered unto but to minister." He "went about doing good." The charter of His life and work is well expressed in the words he chose to read from the book of the prophets when asked to share in the service in the synagogue in Nazareth.

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
For He hath anointed me to preach the gospel
to the poor;
He hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted,
To preach deliverance to the captives,
The recovery of sight to the blind,
And to set at liberty them that are bruised.

To those who followed after him he said, "I am among you as him that serveth" and "as the Father hath sent me, so send I you." Jesus was pre-eminently concerned with the task of meeting the needs of God's children everywhere.

In other words, the secret of the ultimate solution of the problem of a divided Christendom lies in the direction of a revival of the true spirit of Christ in the hearts of individual Christians in all communions and denominations. When we seek to "work the works" of Jesus we are drawn together. When we become involved in creeds and dogmas we multiply our differences and prolong divisions. Any re-union of Christendom on the basis of creedal statements is obviously impossible. The enlargement of a spiritual fellowship of all who seek to follow Jesus and exemplify His spirit is within the realm of possibility.

As a matter of fact, there are certain values in denominationalism which ought to be preserved. So long as we must have organization as a means to an end we must preserve the spirit of Freedom which permits individuals to unite in organizations which are not restrictive but conducive to joyous voluntary participation in Christian work and worship. The tragedy lies not in the fact that men have been free to organize new branches of Christendom but in the fact that it has been

considered necessary so to do. Freedom of religion is a cherished privilege and few indeed would advocate any attempt to achieve a united Christendom which would undermine human freedom.

In brief, then, the following principles may have some values for religious leaders who would seek to deal with the problem of a divided Christendom as we go forward in the emerging World Society wherein Christianity ought to serve as a unifying rather than divisive force.

1. Some differences which can never be resolved may be outgrown by the achievement of a new perspective and a revised sense of values.

2. A revival of the true spirit of Jesus and a restoration of his fundamental motivation as the basis of Christian fellowship would draw Christians together rather than force them apart.

3. The right of separation must be preserved. The necessity for separation should be overcome in so far as possible by a sense of freedom in union.

4. For the immediate future increased cooperation is obviously more expedient and practicable than direct efforts at the merger of widely separated ecclesiastical bodies.

5. Increased cooperation may help to produce new perspectives which will ultimately

lead to voluntary decisions that separatism and division are no longer necessary or desirable in the achievement of Christian objectives.

6. Patience and tolerance are primary virtues if the essential oneness of all Christians is ever to be made evident.

7. Centripetal forces are already at work within Christendom and need to be fostered with diligence.

8. A superficial and forced re-union of Christendom will not usher in the Kingdom of God on earth.

9. There are certain values in the witness of various denominations and communions which ought never to be sacrificed in the interest of a merely outward appearance of unity.

10. The basic unit in the spiritual Kingdom is the individual human soul and the primary objective ought always to be the discovery, preservation and propagation of the ways in which Christ calls us to minister to human needs and to enhance the spiritual and physical well-being of all of God's children everywhere.

CHAPTER VII

The Hunger for a World Faith

By

Henry Burke Robins

HUNGER for faith is a human characteristic. Religions are born of it. As human beings, we long to believe in something more than the immediate moment, to get a before and after, a why and wherefore of our life under the sun. The religious quests of mankind have borne, and bear, the marks of their origins, world-wide. They reflect and summarize the formative concepts and particular cultural limitations of the peoples among whom they arise. For the most part, they are concerned with specific situations and the necessary techniques for dealing with these situations; they do not set out to be universal. Indeed, more often than not, they completely ignore the issue of universality and naively assume the finality of their particular views, rituals and formulas.

Now it is not a count against religion that the individual faiths of mankind have been of this particularistic and localized sort. The fact is that universalism in religion springs

from the very soil of particularism. Some religions grow up, just as some cultures mature beyond the primitive stage, and the processes by which they do so are in the main identical. It is in this growing-up phase that "the hunger for a world-faith" emerges. This fact is registered conspicuously in so-called missionary religions, as in Judaism, Christianity, Islam. There is evidenced a dawning sense of a world which must somehow be one, a realization, historically and culturally conditioned in each case, yet one which augured a new epoch in religion as well as a new age in history. We shall later consider some of these limitations against which the wider claim of faith has had to struggle, particularly as exhibited in Christianity. At this point we simply note the fact of them.

We ought also to note such modern movements as seek to universalize human good, movements such as Russian Communism, however dogmatic their ideologies, however firm their insistence that the greatest common good can be achieved by only one instrument. And to consider certain more diffusive and generally less effective contemporary trends, as that sometimes called Religious Humanism, which makes humanity a universalizing concept and seeks its great common good. There is no purpose, in noting these movements, of even raising the question whether Communism or Religious Hu-

manism *are* indeed religious in any definitive sense. Russian Communism would indignantly deny the imputation; Religious Humanism would insistently make the claim. Though both of them, by initial assumptions, forego any quest of a transcendent God or of a cosmic Meaning, they are at least arresting expressions of hunger for a common world of human good.

Hunger for faith there is, then, all across the human scene; as there is hunger for a world-faith wherever religion and culture grow to maturity.

I

Hunger for faith there is. One can read it, in literature and in life, across the field of the ethnic religions. He can track it, step by step, as he marches with weary seekers pressing along the pilgrim routes to the greater shrines of the non-Christian world. He may hear the Bengal peasant singing plaintively:

> I seek whom I know not!
> He draws my soul.
> I go and know not that I go!
>
> Through the shoreless dark
> A still small voice calls me;
> I grope my way unseeing, unthinking.
> I know only that God is.
>
> Who shall tell me
> By what name to call Him,
> Where to find Him?

Dr. A. J. Appasawny has done a very good service to all who seek to understand the religious quest of India in publishing *Temple Bells,* from which the above is taken. It was the Buddhist Mahavagga which two thousand years ago declared "Wide open is the door of the Immortal to all who have ears to hear. Let them send forth faith to meet it." The classic Chinese *Shih King* (Book of Poetry) had said, many years earlier, "Heaven makes hard demands upon faith," while Confucius himself noted that "a people without faith cannot stand." The peoples have all gone seeking, each in its own way. Come, stand with me upon the great rear wall of the Grand Mosque at Delhi as the muezzin sounds. Watch the throng of people, entering quietly, removing their shoes, performing their required ablutions, and, at the given moment, falling upon their faces in prayer. It is something more than a mere gesture they are making. Come with me to Mount Omei, famous holy mountain in West China, up the steep slopes of which, every year of the world, pass scores of thousands of pilgrims, worshipping, meditating in the temples, some going even to the very 8,000 foot summit, in the hope of seeing Buddha's glory. I do not suggest that, even in these lands, everybody goes; but the quest is on, around the earth! All these we may, if we choose, call "seekers

after God," as Dean Farrar denominated Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.

There can really be no doubt about the quest, though the most evident aspects of popular religion seem often to place the bizarre and fantastic so in the foreground that only one who goes beneath the surface will be sure to sense the tragic urgency and basic earnestness of it all. It need not be assumed that this quest is wholly or even chiefly fruitless, for, as Archbishop Söderblom was wont to say, "where there is religion, there is revelation." Yet it has to be recognized that there is much groping amid prevalent superstitions and a very general failure to realize what may be termed the higher values of religion, for religion at its best has brought both a sense of moral renovation and an assurance of undergirding presence. The total deliverance of a great ethnic faith seldom fails to embrace various values of high religion, though the fact is, almost the world around, that the multitude share but fitfully and fragmentarily in these, as in most other of the world's best gifts.

Moreover, stragglers in the jungle abound, so to say, beyond the fitful campfires of these ethnic religionists. There are not only the millions upon millions of primitives, upon the lowest cultural levels, whose religion is compounded almost wholly of superstitions and fear, but also, upon the higher cultural

levels, we find yet other millions off the beaten path of religion, many of whom, though they also suffer spiritual hunger, fail to find in religion a compelling directive of life. Yet the quest goes on, and many make it in their own private fashion, unillumined and unguided by the best which their age offers. How could one become aware of the spiritual estate of men the world around and not be moved with compassion!

The historic missionary enterprise of the Christian churches embodies their answer, down to date, to the situation indicated. This movement proceeded in a world where the lines between Christian and pagan, sacred and secular, "home" and "foreign," were assumed to be pretty sharply drawn. They sang,

> Shall we, whose lamps are lighted
> With wisdom from on high,
> Shall we to men benighted
> The lamp of life deny?

And they went bravely about the business. But, of course, there never was a Christian country, in any complete sense; and there has never been a united Christian Church. Christian missions in its successive phases and sometimes competitive aspects really throws a good deal of light upon the limitations of our home-base Christianity.

Yet it must be said that the movement has

been perhaps, on the whole, the most purely and sincerely Christian fruitage of the faith. Its modern efforts have resulted in the rise, in so-called "mission" lands, of "the younger churches," organized bodies of Christians which are mainly autonomous though developed, ecclesiastically and institutionally, upon patterns clearly in large part occidental or "European." In but few instances could these churches carry on alone. World War I had a sifting and consolidating effect upon these. World War II will prove to have been the acid test of their adequacy and stability. If they could not hope to carry the whole program before World War II, particularly in its costly but essential institutional aspects, much less can they hope to do so now. The "elder churches" are confronted by a heavy responsibility at this point.

It is not a criticism of this movement to say that it is inadequate. Its promoters would at any point have agreed. Yet they were thinking mainly in terms of volume: there was not enough money; there were not enough missionaries! But the current testing of the Christian faith, a searching one indeed, may show yet more fundamental limitations than those of men and means. The reasons for the relative failure, or better, the inadequacy, of the movement were rooted, most of them in occidental Protestantism's own limitations. These limitations can be located,

and not a few of them can be remedied to a degree within a reasonable time. In fact, anyone familiar with the activities of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh (1910); the very notable achievements of its Continuation Committee to the setting up of the International Missionary Council; the fruitful services of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, and of other regional conferences, is aware that the remedial process of self-criticism and collaboration has been actively going on for many years.

The roots of the trouble still lie in the soil of our home-base Christianity, and they are fed not only or mainly perhaps by our institutional divisions and diversities. They are fed far more by our inadequate, over-theologized, under-socialized sense of the meaning of our faith. They lie also, partly, in our individualism and parochialism, which permit a Christian to attain "salvation," to save his own "soul," even although he remains thereafter without any particular sense of obligation to the great human majority. I do not mean merely that so many church folk in good standing consider "foreign" missions an elective, but rather that our whole presentation of the faith in pulpit and church services has greatly underemphasized its immediate social relevancy. As a consequence, it not seldom happens that churchmen who are at

the same time men of large affairs can engage in large-scale or international activities carried on by such standards and in such fashion as to jeopardize the peace of the world —the sort of thing in no small part responsible for modern wars, while at the same time giving liberally to the support of foreign missions and speaking a good word for the church. Their Christianity has failed in so far to endow them with an acute social conscience. And the problem does not end with them, for they are standard-bearers, pacesetters; the whole lay body is more or less infected. Moreover, this is but one aspect of the matter; this dualism between our "religion" and our ordinary behavior ranges across the whole field of contemporary life. It affects labor, men in politics, men in business, people in "society," everybody who is a part of the Christian church.

Thus, out of the simple hunger for faith and the attempt of organized Christianity to meet the need world-wide, there emerges and defines itself ever more clearly the demand for clear thinking about the faith itself. The world is full of faith-hungry seekers, many of whom know not what they are seeking—multitudes as sheep without a shepherd. The Church, in noble and fruitful movements sets out to guide this quest, world-wide; but meanwhile, that Christendom which it had fancied "saved," Christian, and stably estab-

lished upon the bedrock principles of the Gospel, begins to fray at the edges, shows its seamy side, and, in a great convulsion, is cleft asunder!

II

But if, for all that, there is evidenced in these times a new and urgent hunger for a world-faith, it may well be concluded that a new day is in the making. This hunger for a world-faith may well signify a new dimension in religion whose exploration and funding will be greatly hastened by the world-catastrophe of our generation. The new faith will be a corporate one, and not individual merely; it will heartily embrace the saying of the Apostle Paul to the men of Athens, that God hath "made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth . . .; that they should seek God . . ." The unity of the race, that is to say, must ultimately rest not alone upon a common origin, but upon a common faith.

The more discerning spirits of our time have discovered that Isolationism is not a workable philosophy, even when considered in terms of expediency; the old islands of safety have been overwhelmed in the sea of change. The ends of the earth have been brought into challenging but perilous juxtaposition, so that the peace of the remotest hamlet is at the mercy of forces far beyond

local control. It is very significant that those who are in an administrative relation to the political order, around the world, are measurably awakened to the imperatives of community. The thing which escapes them more often than not, however, is the fact that the key to community must be fashioned of a common understanding of life, a common faith, a common commitment; in other words, that it is a spiritual entity and not some parallelogram or other of political forces.

The faithful, around the whole earth, respond to Augustine's cry, "Thou, O God, hast made us for thyself, so that our souls are restless till they rest in thee!" This is the vertical reach of religion. It is imperative that the religious insight of our time should also emphasize the horizontal outreach of religion, "Thou, O God, hast made us for each other, so that our economies and political systems must forever be in jeopardy until we base them upon the true community of all thy human children!" Now there can be little hope for an improvement of the total situation if the Christian Church, which has at least glimpsed the ideal of community, does not do far more than it has in the past to realize it. It should be noted, however, that Protestant Christendom has been attempting these past decades to set its own house in order. There need be no attempt to list here the many sessions held by Christians from

all over the world in the interest of this deeply felt corporate responsibility. It may suffice to mention the missionary conferences ("world" conferences they were), from Edinburgh to Madras; the successive conferences on Life and Work, from Stockholm to Oxford; and the permanent agencies of collaboration established, from the Edinburgh Continuation Committee—which became the International Missionary Council, to the World Council of Churches, with its very important, actively functioning Universal Christian Council for Life and Work. One of the things which those who have participated in these meetings and movements have deeply sensed is a sincere and ardent longing on the part of more or less diverse types of Christian for genuine ecumenicity, for a world-faith, adequate in scope and relevancy to the demands of the new age into which we are moving.

Because faith in God bulks so large in our total faith, we are inclined to doubt whether another approach than ours can have any measure of validity, or contribute significantly to the establishment of world community. We have to recognize, I take it, that there is a movement whose focus is faith in man, which may also make its very considerable contribution to the final solution of the problem of community. Probably most of those who hailed Russia, because of her valiant

struggle against the Central Powers, would look askance at the suggestion that she may in the end teach us something about how to control and keep in equilibrium the enormous potential energies resident within a national economy. If she actually administers by the principle, "From each according to his ability, and to each according to his need," she will be applying a principle which we Christians are also seeking to embody in the social order. It might even come about that the Russian promoters of this ideal should come to see that there is no inherent contradiction between this social axiom and personal religious faith. As to that, the future will tell. But one of the problems which must immediately confront those who seek to set up effective international community will be that of governing assumptions. May not the approach from the angle of a common primary regard for considerations of humanity and, if you will, the rights of man, be the most immediately available one?

Community, it should be kept in mind, equally implies differences. And differences are hard to tolerate when they are naked and insistent. One of the dreams of religious crusaders has been that everybody should eventually conform to some single pattern. The odds are that they never will. And the genuine contribution of world-cultures to a common culture lies just in the differences.

The fact of inevitable diversity ought to figure in our social philosophies more largely than it does: there may be more than one economic or political pattern which will yield high returns in human good. And the same fact should figure more conclusively in our thinking about religion in its more distinctive characters. The ultimate realities have a strange way of overleaping the verbal fences we place around them. To be sure, each of us must follow the gleam, must walk in the light as light is given him; and each of us must bear his witness, in such terms as are available and most apt for communication. But we must also have fellowship with those our fellow-seekers who "follow not with us."

Practical experience has taught us a good deal about the approach to community: instead of trying to find some all-inclusive formula by whose use to unite divergent groups, we have found it far more effective to discover practical concrete problems to solve, particular local needs to meet, and getting together in their behalf, we have found that we had more community of attitude and aim than we ever thought we had. In this way we build that faith in each other which is indispensable to a wider common faith. Interfaith activities involving Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious leadership have in recent years exploited a pattern which must be funded to the full—the conviction

that there are fundamental agreements even more basic than the differences. These experiences have also brought us a fresh awareness of the immense inertia inherent in our religious stereotypes, institutional and doctrinal. This, at first blush, seems to place an upper limit upon the eventual possibilities. Yet when one considers carefully the means by which a fresh orientation of religious faith has come about in certain areas, however limited, within these great groups, it becomes apparent that there is no such rigid upper limit. There may be, and there actually are, ever-enlarging areas of community. Though, here again, it must be insisted that community does not depend upon or imply dead uniformity.

III

Unity in diversity is the only possible pattern for that world-community for which so many long. But such a unity, once a working basis for it has been achieved, will find us doing more things together. It will find our determinative cultural patterns contributing to a common world-culture. It will find our divergent techniques and economies, adapted and funded for the good of the many, yielding a richer life for all. It will find that the common understanding of the world which pure science, lying back of the practical sci-

ences, affords, contributing to a common outlook upon the natural world including man. It will find the field of the arts, the realm of music, the world of appreciation funding relevant values world-wide. It will find increasing agreement as to the basic obligations of men and nations in the new world-order: obligations of integrity, understanding, mutuality and good-will.

The actual unity in diversity thus measurably achieved, will, one dares to hope, make the major outlines of a common faith inevitable. That faith, moreover, though it may assume its initial form as faith in each other, will scarcely halt until it shall achieve an illumining and undergirding conviction that this frail structure of mutuality is not itself a mere human convention, supported by purely pragmatic sanctions, but that it is rooted in the nature of things, or, in religious terms, in the nature and will of God. Let us be sure, however, that we shall never attain a common faith by decree; and, furthermore, that a common faith, once attained, will express itself freely, in keeping with the individual genius, heritage, temperament, insight, and appreciations of those who cherish it; and, finally, that it will do so to the enrichment of us all.

The only sure alternative to a world perpetually at war with itself is a common faith, a faith which rests back upon the assurance

that God is, that he cares infinitely, and that "he has made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth . . .; that they should seek God . . ." And there is today, around the circle of the earth, a growing hunger for such a faith.

RESOURCES OF CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER VIII

The Christian Understanding of Life

By

Edwin McNeill Poteat

IN THE introductory chapter of this book Professor Nixon set forth an analysis of "the dominant fact about the world today"—that it "is becoming a society," and stated what, beyond the dominant fact, has always been the goal of the human race—"an experience of genuine community." Society is the fact, community is the ideal; against this background one must understand what he describes as "the greatest drama of human history."

Those who have had an eye for the dramatic in the human scene have uniformly seen it thus. Before the writing of history was an exact discipline prophets and seers imagined and dreamed and hoped for clear directions and goals for human striving. Now that history is quasi-philosophical, we are encouraged by some modern historians to believe that certain factors are working toward the ultimate fulfillment of the prophets' dream. The last lines of Charles Beard's *Republic* are:

> I have confidence in the tenacity of civilization always in conflict with its foe barbarism to hold to the conviction that it will not be extinguished on the earth . . . If this combination of faith and knowledge be not the workable truth of the matter before us, what is it?

It has always been the confidence of Christians that the eyes of Jesus looked upon the world's struggle with the perspective of eternity and from the altitude of an undiscouragable hope. "Be not afraid; I have overcome the world" adumbrates that strong Christian confidence whether or not it reports an actual statement; in the first clause is indicated his and the Christian movement's altitude of faith, in the second clause is set forth his and the Christian movement's historical perspective. Again in the account of the initiative of Jesus' public ministry, wherein occurs the story of his temptations, the third episode is set within dimensions extended—with devilish clarity—to cosmic limits. It was an "exceeding high mountain" that provided the altitude from which "all the kingdoms of the world" were visible within global perspective. The "righteous men" of his day were annoyed by him partly because he, discontented with their ardent nationalism, sought tirelessly to extend their vision to a world fellowship, a kingdom into which those who would sit down with Abraham and Isaac were to come from the east, west, north, and south.

It is no idle boast that insists that this dream has never been wholly lost. The early Christian fellowships made the message of a universal community of redeemed individuals their weapon with which to lay siege to a world that had lost its community of ideas in the break-down of the once dominant Greek ethos, and had lost its community of action in the confusion of Roman ethical systems. They believed in, and to a conspicuous extent brought into being, a community in which there was neither bond nor free, neither barbarian nor Scythian, the latter being the almost legendary super-barbarians from the remote regions of the Caspian Sea. Theirs was a daring ideal, yet no more so than the original faith of him who was to "take away the sins" not alone of Israel, or Palestine or Mediterrania, but "of the *world.*"

Similarly, in our introductory chapter the writer has suggested the nub of the personal —as contrasted with the community—problem. And here again we find a matter which has always been central to the Christian concern. In the involvements of man-to-man, man-to-thing, man-to-spirit, there is a trinity of relationships out of which grow the possibilities either of enrichment and power or of impoverishment and feebleness. Once more also it is possible to assert that history seems to record movement in the direction of the enrichment of the life of the individual.

Despite the colossal and depressing throwbacks and frustrations that induce a denial of progress by some, man's life is not generally regarded by us as "nasty, brutish and short," or if such a judgment is sometimes summarily made, it is in defiance of man's hopes that it is possible for it to be otherwise.

Certainly Jesus, who foresaw a world community, was as concerned with its components as with its completeness. He saw both integer and sum, both subject and kingdom, both person and community. The latter in each case was made up of a certain variety of the former. The "sin of the world" was not a cosmic defection; it was the aggregate of personal rebellions against the will of God. Jesus was no more confused by a false antithesis between personal and social redemption than have been those who, within the Christian tradition have always thought deeply on the problem of total redemption.

> "The world's improvement" said Kant, "depends chiefly on individuals and private endeavors and not so much on governments as some think, since experience teaches us that the ultimate aim of governments is not the promotion of the world's good, but rather the well-being of their own states, through which they hope to attain their own individual ends . . . Individuals, however, should reflect upon the development of Humanity, and see to it that it becomes not only skillful but moral, and try to advance posterity further than they themselves have gone, which is the most difficult of all."

Man and community—each presents its demands and claims attention. At certain points there seems to be conflict of interest. It is perhaps the oldest of the dialectics that have excited the mind, this zigzag concern between community and individual. "All that is not race is dross" says Hitler and the individual is therefore worthless in his own right. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God" says Jesus, but promises all things added to the individual. It is Jesus who thinks dialectically; Hitler's mad devotion to his narrow community of race was from the beginning the poison of his corruption and the promise of his doom. Our problem would, therefore, seem to be to ask what is the current Christian word to speak to the current form of this ancient dialectic? The world demands community; community demands a quality of life. We cannot set these demands in hostile categories. Can we put them together within the pattern of dialectical thought?

What is the nature of dialectical thinking? It is somewhat more complex a matter than seeing life steadily and as a whole. Life is seen rather as oscillation between points which have the aspect often of opposites; it is not seen as a whole, but as the interaction of parts within a whole.

This process of arriving at an understanding of things has been given a clear and suggestive pattern by the dialectical materialists.

Marx made use of Hegel to validate a theory of community, and basic to all dialectical thought are two simple propositions: (1) All things are real and are dynamically interrelated; (2) everything possessing any sort of reality is in process of radical change by self-transformation, owing to the fact that its content is made up of opposing factors or forces, the internal movement of which interconnects everything, changes each thing into something else. Is it possible to validate the Christian concepts of community and personality by use of this method? Is it true to say that the parallels that are to be pointed out exist not consciously or imitatively but because they are implicit in any correct understanding of the universe? Let us look for answers to these questions.

I

Our concern is with the relation of the individual to the community. How can the fullest development of each be possible without the demoralization of either? "All things are real and are dynamically inter-related." As this concerns person and community, its truth is obvious. We are aware of ourselves as real individuals; our relations within society are no less real; the interconnectedness of individual and society is dynamic, i. e. it is like the relation of electron to atom in a galaxy rather than like one potato to an-

other in a sack. Man-to-Man, Man-to-Thing, Man-to-Spirit; each of these — man, thing, spirit—is real, each "dynamizes" the other; the result of this change.

This is not alien to the basic Christian understanding of life. On the contrary, the whole emphasis of Jesus rested on just such a presupposition. What engaged his interest more vitally than man's relation to his brother, man's relation to his things, man's relation to spirit? And why? For no other reason than that each of these relationships is dynamic, each is creative, not only of adjustments but of radical change. No man lives to himself, he is radically changed by the fact of his touch with others. Thus society, whether it be the home, the town, the collective, the state, or the world, shapes the individual into something radically different from what he was at his beginning. Also no man lives without the material implements of existence, and what he has in his hands, whether it be a loaf of bread, a loom, a scythe or a sword, radically changes him. He may be the victim of the "cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches," or he may sublimate his sword into a scythe. In all cases, the things with which he is interconnected, radically change him for good or ill. And once more, man's relation to spirit—whether spirit to him be no more than mores, or as much to him as the Eternal Presence—this relation is real

and dynamically operative in the direction of radical change.

To the Christian then who looks at the man-to-community problem, the word of the dialectician sounds a uniquely Christian note. The basic pattern within which the ideas lie fits the simple Christian understanding of man's threefold relationships. Nothing could be more remote from the Christian world-view than an attempt to dissociate man from man because one feared such an association likely to produce radical change. Nor does the Christian view permit a severing of man's relation to things. It sees with terrible clarity that a man's life is affected both by the abundance of the things he possesses and by their paucity. And of man's relation to spirit, no comment is necessary. Here is a close-knit, vital and dynamic series of relations. They are the matrix both of social and individual values; they interpenetrate and change, for better or for worse, the individual and the community he shares. The Christian view reveals that the individual cannot know abundant life apart from the right kind of society, and society cannot reach its full measure of security without the right kind of individuals.

Salvation, in other words, is the resultant of dynamic interaction. This does not mean that interaction is capricious. Even the dialectical materialists make much of the purposiveness of radical change. Due to the

dynamics of interaction, certain goals are being irreversibly pursued. They tell us that the basic economic demands of physical life *determine* the developments of society and will issue inevitably in a definite type of social complex. The rigor of this determinism is rather appalling. And yet it is hardly less forthright than the claims of the Kingdom of God. The classless society of the Marxians is not totally different from the Kingdom in which there is neither bond nor free. On the contrary within the ideology of a classless society much of the radical idealism of the Kingdom of God finds congenial accommodation. All the radical change that is the result of dynamic interconnectedness moves in a clear direction. Professor Nixon speaks of the "greatest drama of human history," the "entire globe . . . the stage" . . . "the peoples of the earth cast for roles in the unfolding of the plot," and finally "the fate of mankind." Drama without denouement is not drama; it is a rather desultory tale, as meaningless as music without melody.

II

The dialectical materialist however, parts company with the Christian philosopher at this point. Says he, the nature of reality is *self*-transforming due to the internal movement of opposing forces. It is the *inner* conflicts within the individual and society that

make man and society what they are. No place is given to the Christian concept of the Ultimate Factor by whom "all things were created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers . . . by him all things consist (Col. 1:16-17)." We do not quarrel here with the materialistic denial of God. There has been too much of the Christian claim that God is all and man nothing, that the divine dynamic has brought radical change without the knowledge, consent or cooperation of the human will. For some, escape from distorted emphasis has been in flight to the opposite extreme—that all reality (in our case individual and society) are *self*-transforming. This leaves God out and man tugging, in solitary preoccupation, at his boot-straps.

That man changes himself is obvious. Anthropology gives the record; education the resource; discipline the method. But that it is *wholly* himself is dubious. If his ascent is imitative, it is not wholly himself that strives upward; it is partially the sight of another ahead of him that supplies the impulse to self-change. Similarly social change. Evolution from tribe to nation, from one sort of national pattern to another, from a vague amorphous democratic ideal to democratic practices—one wonders how far these have been self-propelled. The present urgency in

the world toward a vital democratic world order is happening not only because of the "internal movement of opposing forces" but also because of the external compulsions of very practical goals. The goals are not "inner forces," they are external ideals, and when the compelling force of an ideal is felt, it is but a brief transition that brings us to a confrontation of the Ideal, which is God.

Here we encounter another dialectic. It has had renewed emphasis in our times, and provides, in its extreme statements, as sharp antagonisms as are to be found. Man is helpless to transform himself; so say the current pessimists; they adduce considerable evidence to support ther dismay. Crane Brinton in *The Lives of Talleyrand* says:

> There is, of course, not much anyone of us can do about the fate of liberalism. A dignified pessimism seems now the fashionable cast of the liberal spirit. Liberalism is a Great Lie that even its makers are beginning to doubt. Metaphysics may be as necessary to human beings as oxygen, and illusion may be the foundation of empire—(there's the individual—community dialectic again) but if liberalism is no stronger than its metaphysics, it is already a corpse.[1]

This is the secularist's parallel to the restrained despair of the neo-orthodox and also, oddly enough, to the hysterical abandonment of hope in self and society of the Chiliasts and

1 W. W. Norton and Co., New York.

the cultists. The statement of the opposite is found in the various utterances of the Marxists and the religious humanists who still courageously hold on to the belief that man has within himself and society has within itself the competent energies of their own self-redemption.

Is it not necessary to seek altitude and perspective in order to see, above these divided judgments, the facts that in the Christian tradition at its best, have unified the spirit of man within him and united him with his fellows? Briefly put, altitude is suggested by the Christian view of man and perspective is suggested by the Christian view of history. Man is the creature of God; history is the unfolding of the purposes of God in human society. Thus, we think, the Christian perspective is the one that provides the clearest and most satisfying understanding of the mundane "drama."

John Donne's quotation, lately made famous as the source of the title of a successful novel, suggests quaintly this view. "No man is an iland of it selfe; every man is a peece of the Continent, a part of the Maine . . . any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankinde." In support of this familiar idea, it can be said that Christianity does two things: first, it offers to the individual a sense of personal integrity and worth.

He is *one*: he is a *valuable* one. But he is not allowed to make his integrity and his worth the object of his highest loyalty. "Let no man think more highly of himself than he ought to think." Herein lies a significant difference between the secularist and the Christian view. Man, says the latter, must present his primary loyalty to a community called the Kingdom of God. There is no promise of fulfillment to the man who exalts himself; on the contrary. There is, however offered the prospect of fulfillment to him who seeks *first* the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. Then all the things due to one who has inherent worth in himself will be added.

The second thing is the promise of a power by which such a loyalty can be kept true. This power is first an ideal attitude, second a sense of responsibility, and third a sense of destiny. An attendant in an Army hospital has written:

> I've seen self-pity and infantilism in many men in this war, and it is this personality inadequacy, not combat shock, that unfits and destroys them for a normal life after their return from over-seas. This is a problem of attitudes and it is the sort of human tragedy that could have been averted I think, had a parent, priest or teacher successfully indoctrinated these men with a sense of responsibility to something beyond themselves.

Here is testimony from a hospital that the sense of larger loyalty effects the dynamic

change in "personality inadequacy" that is, so far as physical illness is concerned, curative.

One may go further and suggest that this dialectical approach compels us, in any thoroughgoing view of man's redemption, to take account of the natural world, our fellows, and God. Incarnation and atonement are basic Christian insights. We can believe in God only as we see Him in man. Can we forgive except we, without any merit of our own, have been forgiven? The belief in God is the most diffcult and yet the most important exercise of man's intellectual faculties. Reconciliation with one's fellows is the most difficult and yet the most important exercise of one's social instincts. At the heart of the former stands the Incarnation; and at the heart of the latter the Atonement.

III

Thus we have seen that the dialectical approach to our drama is not only congenial to traditional Christian thought, but is, we may modestly claim, heightened by it. And the reason for this is that from its origin, the Christian movement was concerned equally with redemption of individuals and society, patterning personality "into a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ," and making society into a community. "And there shall be no more curse;

but the throne of God and the lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him."

When, therefore, the Christian movement has been faithful to its highest directive it has been ecumenical. This is motion on an horizontal plane. Starting out thus, it has always been a missionary crusade. Ecumenicity is then no new emphasis; it is an old friend dressed in a new noun. There is novelty however in certain modern implications of the ancient ideal. If, in the interests of a political world community, certain long cherished sovereignties must be forsworn, the same is likely to be true within the corporate structure of Christendom. Not only must denominational atomism be adjured in the interests of a united Christian community; it is equally true that ideological atomism must suffer conspicuous modification in the interests of the same. There is much evidence that religion in general—which supplies the cement for community cohesion — will be moving in the next century in the direction of a larger synthesis. Earlier days have heard the intimations of such a movement whispered by cautious prophets. But the shrinkage, not only of the geographical but also of the cultural world, has brought us to the threshold of this development and demands a bolder approach to it. Only thus will the ideological sectarianism which is as much a barrier to the ethos of a world community as the de-

nominational sectarianism has been to the unity of Christendom, be resolved into a world religious fellowship. This is clearly a part of the drama we are witnessing.

Similarly when the Christian testimony has been faithful to its finest insights, it has kept warm its ardor for personal redemption —for the achievement of the abundant life of the individual. This is motion on the perpendicular plane—man ascending from the depths of sinful humanity to the heights of fellowship with God in Christ. "Underneath all" wrote Whitman, "individuals." John Stuart Mill, philosophical radical and political reformer compressed his philosophy of reform into the familiar words: "The worth of a state in the long run is the worth of the individuals composing it." These are basically Christian value judgments, and values considered primarily from the ethical viewpoint. The reason for this is clear. All moral value inheres ultimately in behavior; the primary human problem is ethical. And society has no soul except in a sentimental sense. It cannot sin nor expiate the sins of its components. Nor can it rise to heroic levels of self-change except as its individuals rise. Only as men sin does community sin; only as men achieve does society achieve; only as men consciously unite does community cohere. The land fares ill only as men decay.

It is the redemption of individuals and

their constant and confessed loyalty to an object of devotion above and beyond themselves that is the cure for the secularism that threatens all social units.

IV

Suppose, from the drama we are watching and participating in, the energy of the Christian understanding and dynamic should, either by default or design, be withdrawn. Would society disintegrate, and would the dream of community die? It is not infrequently claimed that it is the Christian hope and that alone which holds the world together. This is neither realistic nor orthodox. It is an affront to God to claim that with the disappearance of Christian testimony—if such a thing can be imagined—frustration would overwhelm His purposes. Nor will realism allow the claim. If, as we believe, a community of vital spirits is the end of the creative process, then what is read "in the stars' bright diagram" will not be blacked out by the defection of the Christian fellowship. God is not mocked; whatsoever He has sowed, He shall reap.

But it can be plausibly argued that in the story of the world drama *up to this point,* no organized, self-conscious, historically sustained movement parallel to the Kingdom of God (or Christendom) has appeared. Cer-

tainly within the context of Western culture the nearest approximation has been The International. Started in Paris in 1836 by a group of German exiles, it boldly set forth to conquer the world on the basis that all men are brethren. This was a derivative of Christian idealism and not a new discovery. Its slant however was anti-religious. The activities of the International in its final phase (the third) were officially suspended by orders from Moscow in 1942. Professor Laski in his most recent book, "Faith, Reason, and Civilization," argues that Communism has finally appropriated all the early values of The International and is now the organized society which, taking over the spiritual dynamics of moribund Christendom, will eventually create the world community for which men have dreamed.

It is not the point of this chapter to dispute Laski's predictions. It is pertinent to indicate, however, that the evolution of The International has been from brotherhood to class-consciousness, and, in the current phase of communism, to a nationalism that is narrower than both the world-brotherhood and the world-class ideal. The Christian evolution has been the reverse. It, like The International, has had a checkered career, and had it for nearly nineteen centuries longer, but it has moved progressively in hope, if not always in fact, in the direction of world-broth-

erhood, leaving class and nation behind as it has moved ahead.

Various explanations may be offered to explain this striking fact. One question alone falls within the province of this discussion. Is it possible that the Christian movement has continued in the direction of world community because it holds, albeit tenuously and sometimes reluctantly, to the notion that the life of a man and a community consisteth not in the abundance of the things that it possesseth? Is the nemesis of The International its primary concern for political, class or material aggrandizement? Let the Christian movement be warned that its life is and always will be imperilled when it reverses the order of its choices, seeking first the things the pagans seek instead of seeking first the Kingdom of God.

Contrast the growth of Christian community as it has moved slowly toward the light of the great dawn. J. R. Seeley in the closing chapter of *Ecce Homo* written little short of a hundred years ago, about the time, in fact, when The International was a-borning, said:

> The achievement of Christ, in founding by his single will and power a structure so durable and so universal, is like no other achievement which history records . . . The inconceivable work was done in calmness; before the eyes of men it was noiselessly accomplished, attracting little attention. Who can describe that which unites

> men? Who has entered into the formation of speech which is the symbol of their union? He who can do these things can explain the origin of the Christian church. For others it must be enough to say, the Holy Ghost fell on those that believed. No man saw the building of the New Jerusalem, the workman crowded together, the unfinished walls and unpaved streets; no man heard the clink of trowel and pickaxe; it descended *out of heaven from God.*

We would modify certain of his words and phrases in order to impart a somewhat more modern flavor, and yet are not his ideas of the essence of the Christian faith in community? So long as we do not depart from that, we shall have something to say to a world which, whether we like it or not will within calculable time either mount to the high levels of community or skirt the precarious abyss of terror. And if we have somewhat to say, let us speak as those who, given the option, chose life instead of death.

CHAPTER IX

The Bible in a World Perspective

By

Ernest William Parsons

IF a new age is likely to see the Bible from a new angle of vision what will an age that is becoming world-minded find in the Bible that will help it to deal effectively with its moral and spiritual problems? So runs the provocative question which the editors have sent to the writer of this chapter. He wishes that he could feel more certain that the Bible will be viewed from a new angle of vision, for not a few of the present angles are unpromising. Another way of stating the matter is to ask what service the Bible can render to a citizen of a free nation as he consciously or unconsciously takes his place as a citizen of a world whose borders have shrunk so amazingly under the development of transportation and communication that it is no longer a mere figure of speech to call it a neighborhood. The contacts of members of the human race will be closer and more intimate tomorrow than they were yesterday; and there will be more free men. The question is not merely an academic one.

It is a tribute, witting or unwitting, to the influence of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures through the centuries that the editors desired that such a question be considered in this volume. One of the interesting phenomena of these war times has been the return of many, both in civilian and fighting ranks, to the Bible for various services. Granting that the return has been marked by varying degrees of intelligence the phenomenon remains. Perhaps it is not without promise of a worthy service in the better day for which so much of mankind is hoping.

Certain services which the scriptures have rendered in the past will continue. They will render comfort to many, guidance of various kinds to not a few, and high challenge to those who wish it. But intelligent guidance in taking the right way in the significant today and tomorrow will require an intelligent appraisal of and approach to these writings. Unfortunately many of the old appraisals and approaches will persist, varying from a superstitious regard and use to a very dogmatic estimate and use of their statements. Some will still unconsciously distort them in the interest of existing institutions and beliefs or for the establishment of another of the multiplying sects. Such uses as these will not helpfully serve the citizen of the world as he faces new opportunities and duties. The use of the Christian Scriptures as a magic

charm or as a support of preconceived theological positions and institutions will not be of much avail to him.

I

In an intelligent approach to the Bible as a possible aid in solving some of the social, moral, and religious problems which are involved in our shrinking world it must frankly be admitted that considerable portions of these writings will not afford guidance for tomorrow unless that guidance is in the form of warnings against following certain unworthy and unfortunate examples which their pages contain.

For instance, those parts of the Old Testament which are concerned with the particular eminence of a national or racial group and the corresponding inferiority of all other groups will not serve greatly in bridging the many gulfs which have to be spanned. Those sections which represent the Deity as approving and even commanding the punishment, and at times the extinction, of groups which differ from and oppose the allegedly chosen group will not be of much service in teaching us to find unity in diversity unless they induce men to avoid such ideas and attempts. The cries for unmitigated vengeance upon those who in political and military ways are for the time being in superior and opposing positions to the preferred group will not lead

us in the way which we must take tomorrow. Even when we pass to that part of the Bible which is specifically a Christian product, the New Testament, we shall have carefully to appraise a similar attitude of particularism and superiority which, while not racially based, has the same divisive and separatistic effects. There is a religious particularism in its pages which issues at least as much in a sense of preferment as in a feeling of obligation to serve and to help. Such an attitude is easy to understand in its historical situation and it may have been inevitable in the circumstances, but it is there in any case.

Nothing is to be gained, but much lost, by closing one's eyes to these obvious facts. To follow trends such as these simply because their record is part of a sacred book is to do the book and humanity and humanity's God no little disservice. They are very understandable and extremely interesting when they are seen for what they are, namely, products of earlier stages of ethical and religious perception and of specific situations which largely determined the moral and social attitudes assumed. This is but saying what has been said frequently before but which needs repeating and learning so that the approach to the Christian Scriptures by those who wish them to serve helpfully in ushering in a world of brotherhood will not be that of seeking for magic guidance, dogmatic sup-

port, or sectarian justification, but rather that of understanding them as a selective record, from many centuries, of certain seekings and aspirations of the human spirit and of certain achievements in that process. It is perhaps unavoidable in any undertaking involving human factors, and that is all our undertakings, that mistakes should be made and imperfect methods adopted. Such find record in the Bible. It is well to recognize them for what they are and to be glad that in spite of them the scriptures are a record of humanity on the march.

One result of this will be the avoidance of an indiscriminate use of all parts of the Bible as if they were of equal significance for today. Conversely, it will involve the selection of those sections, historically understood, whose ideas and attitudes commend themselves to our minds and consciences when they are at their best. This will involve the *use* of a shorter Bible than our printed one. Many people are suspicious of the "shorter Bibles" which have appeared in comparatively recent times, feeling that something sacrilegious has been done in abbreviating their scriptures. But the shortest of such abridgments is longer than the Bible which most of us use. Wherever the entire Bible has been used for ethical and spiritual guidance this has been made possible only by the use of a method of interpretation, the alle-

gorical, by means of which the writings are made to yield meanings they never honestly had and through which users of the Bible arrive at an interpretive anarchy where each insists with equal justification that his interpretation, and his alone, is the proper one.

There is no real guidance for an intelligent person here. When the word ascribed to Jesus, "Give to the person who asks from you," is used to support a practice by certain Christians of offering bribes to political officials whose favor was desired the intelligent person will begin to question the validity of such a method. The interpretation of the four rivers of the Garden of Eden as signifying the four cardinal virtues of Greek philosophical ethics; prudence, courage, self-control, justice, will not commend itself to the thoughtful person. Nor will another method, superficially better, the literal, serve the intelligence of today's world. To say that one takes the Bible to mean just what it says is on the surface most promising. But some have argued for slavery and a belief in witches because they have followed this method; and that "some" includes distinguished names in Christian history. What the Bible really says is not always easily found.

It should readily be admitted that the Bible is a book difficult to understand, especially for the occidental mind. It is an oriental book in methods of composition, in patterns

of thought, and in modes of expression. It is far removed from us in each of these respects. It is, in the last analysis, to this fact that a rather disturbing phenomenon can be attributed. In spite of the repeated claim that the Bible is the best seller in literature it unfortunately remains true that it is at the same time a most neglected volume, and where not neglected, all too frequently a most misunderstood book so far as its original and real meaning is concerned.

One of the first steps toward an intelligent use of the Bible is the recognition that knowledge of its contents as such is not sufficient to assure a wise and proper use of it as a moral and spiritual guide in the world of today and tomorrow. Its readers, that is those who wish to use it wisely, must know more *about* the Bible than the average owner of a copy does. This is probably true of many who would classify themselves as above the "average." At least a general knowledge of the historical circumstances surrounding its various documents is necessary. Some understanding of the literary methods obtaining in the various times and places of their production is indispensable. A measure of sympathetic knowledge of the religious and practical purposes of its documents is equally desirable. This is a minimum requirement. Fortunately, in the last generation men of comprehensive and precise knowledge have

presented in simple but accurate form the essential elements in these fields. It is not a matter for congratulation that it is a very small minority of the users of the Bible who have cared to make themselves even superficially familiar with them. Thus the Bible remains for the large majority "the unknown Bible."

II

But enough of the negative! How should the man of the world of today see his Bible in the most useful perspective? He must see it as the product of human life and experience as it has groped and striven after the divine in the universe and in itself. It has come from the two most significant religious *movements* of time, Judaism and Christianity. In its pages are recorded questions and doubts and seekings and strivings of the human spirit as it has slowly walked up "the great altar stairs that slope through darkness up to God." It does not shrink from facing the fact of human failure and it is fair enough to recognize the soul's achievement with its God. In kind the struggles and attainments of its record are similar to those through which men must go today if life is to take on the burden and the triumph of high ethical and spiritual attitudes in a world society.

The Bible, then, can function on one hand in a minatory sense, warning of the danger

of certain classes of ideas, practices, and tendencies; and on the other hand can function as a clarion call to follow at least in general in the train of those who in its pages have "climbed the steep ascent of heaven."

This latter service can be rendered not so much by a meticulous attention to detail as by a contemplation of the governing ideas of the noblest parts of the Christian Scriptures. They have, however, been read so long in translations such as the Authorized and the English and American revisions, where at times the language of the translators and revisers is somewhat archaic, that the very familiarity of the strange expressions prevents many readers from getting a clear conception of the larger idea. The division into chapters and verses also militates against the understanding of these ideas. A number of excellent modern translations can and do render a much needed service in this matter. The accurate yet unaccustomed language of these translators serves much as Fra Lippo Lippi represents art as serving in Robert Browning's poem of that name:

"We're made so that we love
First when we see them painted, things we have passed
Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see . . .
. . . . . Art was given for that;
God uses us to help each other so,
Lending our minds out."

At the risk of travelling once more a well worn pathway we place first in importance in the world perspective a comprehensive appreciation of the development and the characteristics of the idea of Deity which the Bible presents. It is important because, whether we are conscious of it or not the conception or impression of God held by an individual or a group marks with a measure of accuracy the real attainment of the individual or the group in the finer phases of civilization. To follow the development of the human concept of God from those phases which are largely animistic, through those which are anthropomorphic and particularistic and favoritistic, to such peaks as that attained by the writer of a psalm when he says, "Whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend into the heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in Sheol, lo, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the farthest part of the sea; even there shall thy hand hold me,"—to follow this development is a liberating experience and one which suggests to the thoughtful mind that there are yet heights and depths and expansions in the concept that we of today must explore. Such exploration would be a redeeming adventure in religion. For the God of tomorrow has to be a "great God."

Really to understand and to appreciate the significance of the idea of a universal God

would make havoc of some of the lines that now divide us. We take the universality so much for granted that its splendor and its implications too often escape us. Its actual apprehension could render a service in lessening some of the divisive factors in our world situation.

Another of the important elements in the biblical idea of God is that of his intrinsic righteousness. Frequently this is so stereotyped and conventionalized in its expressions that its meaning is lost and the challenge to conduct involved in it ignored. But if the righteousness which can exalt a nation and an individual is to serve in tomorrow's world this phase of our thought of Deity has to become the focus of some straight and fearless thinking. For in kind the righteousness of God and that of men are identical. Men have laid so much emphasis on the "intrinsic" phase of the matter (whatever it may mean) that it has escaped their thought that God's righteousness, as that of any person, is an achievement realized only by the constant exercise of volitional powers. To choose as one ought to choose and to act upon that choice is the basis of all personal and group righteousness, whether divine or human. To say that God cannot act otherwise than rightly is to beg the question and to deprive him of the essential basis of right character and conduct. Better to say that he does not do other-

wise than he should. Men have differed at various times and in various places as to the standards of divine and human righteousness, but on the whole there has been progress and there is hope for even a finer rebirth of the idea. Relieved of the danger of an easy familiarity and brought into the arena of individual and social conduct the idea of a righteous God can be a beacon light that will be needed.

The elements of divine interest in man and mankind on the part of a God who holding the universe in his keeping yet cares for the least of us, of a God who cooperates with the human spirit in its slow upward march, of a God who is infinitely patient with the mistakes and errors of human beings in their various relationships, of a God who never gives up hope—these elements of the comprehensive idea of God are at once amazing and powerful. Taken too much for granted, dimmed by a too easy acceptance, they need to be brought to careful appraisal and given their opportunity. In such important work the Bible can serve. Its story of the march of these ideas, not without temporary defeats, is at once encouraging and challenging.

Next to God "man" is the greatest word in our religious vocabulary and thought. But in more ways than the poet dreamed man has been guilty of inhumanities to man. The too

frequent low estimate of him, his enslavement and exploitation, have been sad chapters in history. To be sure, there are sections in the Scriptures which are not free from such unworthy attitudes, but there are many flashes of insight and hope that dispel much of the darkness. The view of man as a divine creation, as the object of divine "visitation," as the focus of an intelligent divine goodwill is something that could make any "son of man" stand upon his feet and hear what Deity had to say to him. The profound understanding of certain prophets of the capabilities and powers of man in the ethical and spiritual spheres is not without a redeeming thrill even to those somewhat steeped in materialism and what is so easily called "realism." The attitude of Jesus toward men and his recognition of the worth even of the underprivileged and neglected constitutes one of the brightest pages of his story. His insistence that God cares constantly and impartially for his creatures is one of the peaks of religious understanding and it is the Bible that has recorded it for us.

The conception of human redemption as the devotion and use of all an individual's powers to and for their highest ends is one which the world sorely needs. The view of salvation, also found in the Scriptures, as an escape from penalty largely through the efforts and achievement of another, while still

tenaciously held, cannot march with mankind in spiritual attainment as can this other. To understand it as a cooperative adventure of the divine and human spirits is valuable. The call to "work out your salvation . . . for it is God that worketh in you" is a view of the matter which, challenging in its difficulty, can clear a man's spiritual eye and make him stand spiritually erect. That thought of man which views him as potentially like God in morals has prospects for a better day. To be "sons of your Father in heaven" is to have achieved moral likeness to the divine.

That concept of man which thinks of him as God's creation and as of one family, which appears in the Bible and finds classic expression in the statement that "he hath made of one blood all nations of the earth," is one which must claim the attention of men in this divided world as they hope that it will be not quite so badly divided in the tomorrow. Differences of racial characteristics there are, divergence of aims, thought, and method there surely are, degrees of ability, education, and attainment doubtless—yet the Bible can help us to understand that amid all social differences "a man's a man for a' that." If the brotherhood of man is to be more than a phrase but rather a "consummation devoutly to be wished" the Bible is not without service here.

The robust faith of the Bible throughout

practically its entire area in the progress and ultimate triumph of that which is right should certainly be part of the stock-in-trade of the citizen of the world today. There has been so much in recent generations to throw doubt on this that it needs re-emphasis. It is presented in the Bible in various patterns of thought some of which are obsolete, it is hampered in some of its expressions by national and ecclesiastical limitations, but it remains a "bright particular star." It enabled a hopeful though down-trodden and often decimated people to carry through and give the world some of its finest religious thoughts, ideals, and achievements. It enabled a weak religious movement to stand steadfast in the face of overwhelming odds. Whether this faith in the future be painted in apocalyptic imagery or in the more sombre colors of group preferment and reward the broad outlines are still there. The patterns are passing; history is slowly demonstrating the truth and the power of this confidence.

Merely to enumerate all the outstanding ideals of life and service which adorn the pages of the Bible and which should find some measure of increase in their realization in the world-neighborhood of tomorrow would extend this essay far beyond its prescribed length. However, the glittering idea that service for others which costs is the law of all great living is one which a world half-intox-

icated by its material achievements cannot lightly pass by. Even if in its most conspicuous example in biblical records it led to a cross, the symbolism of that cross has become more influential than any throne, be it political or economic.

There is another matter which deserves mention if but briefly. The church has not been without its divisive influences. It will be hard for her to rid herself of them. The opening sentences of an important proclamation coming from the widest Christian ecumenical movement of modern times reiterates what is practically the christology of the Chalcedonian symbol and admits as participants in that movement only those who accept it. The church as an organization and an institution and a custodian of traditions has moved into too prominent a place at the expense of the richer thought of the church as a spiritual fellowship with common loyalties and common aims and a common Father. While we may be thinking more often than formerly that we are one in "hope" and "charity" we are certainly not "one in doctrine." If the various sections into which the church has been divided could be less sure of and insistent upon the infallibility of their doctrinal and ecclesiastical statements and arrangements and interests and more desirous of and insistent upon Christianity's increase and refinement of her vital quality the way

would be cleared for many forward steps. Progress there has been; we need much more. There is still guidance in the Bible for the church if the Bible is permitted to speak its own word in this respect.

III

What we have been saying in this essay is that the proper use of the Bible in spiritual guidance in a world society will involve a liberal and an intelligent approach to it. Since "liberal" has become one of our distorted terms both in politics and religion we may be permitted to say that here it is used in its etymological sense of that which befits free men. Much more will have to be known about the Bible than the vague understanding involved in the average simple pragmatic use of it. Some facts as to the usefulness or lack of usefulness of various parts should be faced. The real guidance to be gained from the Bible will be in the apprehension and understanding and application of some of its massive ideas. But this use of the ideas of the Bible will be unfortunate if they are considered as mere static norms for the control of our moral and spiritual life. They are rather to be viewed as starting points from which the man seeking guidance today will make his own vital venture in personal and social religion and ethics. Such a procedure will not be an easy matter for the Bible does not

yield its treasures easily and no adventure in ethics and religion is simple.

It will be the part of wisdom, therefore, not to expect too much. It is devoutly to be hoped that some progress in the clearer apprehension of the importance of spiritual elements in our social and international life and a better application of them in those spheres will be manifest. The war should teach us this need if nothing else. But there will probably be slower progress in the seeking of spiritual guidance and the application of such discoveries than some now hope. There are differing ideologies, some of them will persist; there are vested interests, economic, social, ecclesiastic, these will find protectors; there are entrenched traditions, not all of these are bad, some are good, but not all those which are bad will be speedily eradicated. There are other ideals than the finer ones of the Bible and they will still be cherished. All significant ethical and spiritual progress has been slow. This is the story of mankind, it probably will be so in the future. Nevertheless, it has been progress and will continue to be so. As the dominant redeeming ideas of the Bible find incarnation and advance in human life this progress will have an unshaken foundation, the best one that can be found.

CHAPTER X

The Inner Life and World-Mindedness

By

Howard Washington Thurman

MAN is a manifestation of life. It is this fact at least that he has in common with all other living things. We are so overwhelmed by the dramatic and external aspects of aliveness that each manifestation of life appears to be independent, complete and autonomous. Every tree, every animal seems to be essentially and uniquely alive without reference to a deeper level of aliveness. In the presence of the staggering mass of individual manifestations of life we are apt to overlook entirely the simple fact that life itself is alive. The essential aliveness of life is the ground of all the aliveness of the particular manifestations of which human beings are but one.

The term inner life suggests that there is present in the world of aliveness a self-conscious awareness of aliveness as aliveness. We do not know about other manifestations of life, but we do know that man is conscious of his being alive and is therefore conscious

of life itself. This means that there is present in man a quality of detachment from varying aspects of his environment so that he is able to see himself as a private individual existence separate and distinct from other manifestations of life, but at the same time grounded in an essential aliveness which makes possible every other manifestation of life about him. The bearing of this observation on the fact of world-mindedness will be developed at another point in the discussion.

I

Man was doubtless able to become mind-conscious as a result of a long, difficult process. In his early stages of development it is reasonable to assume that the human animal was not mind-conscious. As long as all of the energies of the body were spent exhaustively in the hard task of keeping alive—escaping death from enemies on every hand, getting food, caring for the young—there was no surplus of energy available for the unique development of what we now recognize as the mind and the spirit of man. When it became possible to be protected from the constant and immediate threat of death, imagination that was not geared to the facts of survival made possible reflective thought. With the coming of reflective thought man could act to some extent independent of his environment—which means he could then

see himself in relation to his environment.

The consciousness of mind is the thing that has made possible the development of the organized life of man in the world. It has given birth to religion, to art, to culture, in fine, to all that we mean by civilization. The unique thing about the awareness of mind is the fact that it is a self-awareness as distinguished from an awareness of something that is external to itself. The awareness of mind then is the clue to what we mean by the inner life of man. The mind turning in upon itself interprets its experience of itself in terms of a wider and more comprehensive Other which is its validation and gives it character. It follows then that there must be included in its consciousness not merely thought, ideas, concepts, but feeling tones, hopes, fears, yearnings and the whole range of value judgments which go to make up the inner life of the individual. The term, *inner life,* is more than mere formal discursive activity of the mind and must include what the term itself implies, the entire range of self-awareness of the individual.

Even the most cursory examination of the "range of self-awareness" reveals that there are at least three tremendous "driving forces in the life of the human race": that which makes for the perpetuation of the race in terms of reproduction and all the overtones that surround the experience of sex itself;

that which makes for the physical survival of the individual; and that which yields to the individual a sense of meaning and significance that is not located in any particular aspect of the environment but suffuses all, giving richness and fullness to life. It is important to point out that it is the "joyous response" of the latter that the term religious covers most comprehensively. In the rest of our discussion the term "inner life" applies to the awareness of the individual responsiveness to realities that are transcendant in character, emanating from a core of Reality of which the individual is aware and of which the individual is also aware that he is a part.

The inner life, therefore, is activity that takes place within consciousness but does not originate there and is a part of a reality central to all of life and is at once the ground of all awareness, of all aliveness. It is here that man becomes conscious of his meaning and his destiny as a child, an offspring of God. To borrow a phrase from Eckhart, it is the "uncreated element" in the life of man. Here man hears his God speak to him, here he glimpses goals and objects of striving which have an implicit veracity for which he is willing to work, to suffer if needs be, to die in behalf of their realization in the world of manifestation in time and space. What he seeks in the world of activity is that of which he is already deeply aware in his inner life.

The clue to the outer world of relations is found in the inner world of experience.

II

The concept of world-mindedness has to do with the development of the logic of the primary discoveries of the inner life in the external relationships between the multiple manifestations of life. Our concern is primarily with the relationships among human beings. It is not unreasonable to assume that our concern must be even more inclusive. The Prophet Isaiah saw a profound unity between man and the animal kingdom. He suggests that when men study war no more, then the lion and the lamb will lie down together. When the highest manifestations of life relax and uproot their fear of each other, then fear will disappear even among animals; for the knowledge of the Lord will cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. Therefore, the concept of world-mindedness is the outer expression among men of an awareness of the individual's sense of being a child of God, being rooted and grounded in the life of God.

The notion of world-mindedness does not necessarily imply sameness of cultural patterns including language and social habits; it does not imply oneness of religious expression or of political relations, but it does imply an overall awareness of the essential oneness of the human race. This essential awareness

stands irrevocably opposed to all notions of the inherent superiority of one people as over against another or one nation over against another. It places at the center of all political, social, or economic arrangements among men a profound recognition of basic solidarity and concern for the guaranteeing of the right of each individual to have a climate in which his life may unfold in dignity, beauty, and fullness.

It is significant that in the development of the mind of man there has been historically the tendency to reduce the conglomerates of experience to manageable units of control, of understanding, of usefulness. This is most clearly manifest in man's relation to nature. Despite the fact that man is a part of nature he sees himself always as in one sense standing over against the world of nature. He has consistently broken nature down into units of understanding and utility. He has sought to understand its laws and how he may utilize them to his own ends. Curiously enough the advances in this regard have in a sense prepared the way for the working out of the concept of world-mindedness. I use the phrase "prepared the way" quite advisedly; for I do not mean that in the mastery of nature *per se* there is any guarantee that world-mindedness, in the sense in which it is here used, would of necessity follow. And indeed it has not.

The fact remains, however, that the scientific method, with its use of hypothesis, has made for the industrialization of natural resources and for the annihilation of space and time, significant and necessitous barriers between men. The advance in this particular has been more rapid than the adjustment that men have made to the new dimension into which they have been precipitated. *For the most part we are living in a new world and attempting to function with the habits and mentality of old world habitues.* We think in terms of continents and oceans and invisible culture barriers that separate the human race on this planet when the push of scientific advance has made the world into a neighborhood. This requires a kind of maturity for which we are quite unprepared. It follows then that our reactions are those of the immature and adolescent. This by no means make them less deadly and destructive.

It is clear that with the new tools of destruction in our hands such as, the robot bombs that fly pilotless over the seas, the B-29s that do precision bombing from miles above the earth, and finally the atomic bomb, in sheer self-defense something radical must take place in the basic interpretation which we give to the inclusive meaning of life. Obviously, no mere palliative measures are of any value. Nothing short of a profound revolution in the basic structure of our

thought about human life and human destiny can be of any avail.

III

What then is the nature of this mandatory revolution? We must devise ways and means by which the large scale super power that is made possible by man's mastery of nature can have at its center an articulate ethical social responsibility. Perhaps the greatest problem of our age is how modern man can "get a living without losing all the other things that make life joyful and significant." The essential problem then is a spiritual one. It is deep within itself, at the core of his inner life, that man comes upon the tragic insistence that he was meant for joyful and significant living. But it is a joyful and significant life that cannot be content with a world of men and things. What one seeks for one's self must be held as valid for one's neighbors. The seeds of death are inherent in any form of private fulfillment which by its very realizability destroys the unfolding of the life of one's neighbor. This has been implicit in all high ethical religion and is the corner stone of the great Judeo-Christian tradition which has appeared like a fleeting ghost in the vast rooms of the massive palaces of western civilization. In the past, before power became so vast and our resources in nature so activated, we could run the risk of ignoring it

and yet expect some measure of survival. But today this is no longer possible. Nothing short of a concept of world-mindedness that is deeply and directly rooted in the inner life of man can yield either the will or the courage to save us from utter and devastating desolation.

Of course this is not easy to accomplish. To take only one instance of the use of large scale power—economic imperialism. Suppose a great world economic power that has built its prestige, honor, and culture upon the fact that it has been sustained and guaranteed by the careful and scientific exploitation of the resources of other peoples and other lands, decided to relax its imperialistic will. Such a determination requires an entirely radical reorientation of its entire life down to the most insignificant detail. But if it placed at the disposal of its new purpose the vast creative resources of its own ingenuity, then ways and means would be devised by which such a consummation could be achieved.

The point is that the power that has been made possible by the achievements of scientific advance has not been regarded as amenable to any concerns that are not directly related to its own perpetuation. Fundamental to this is the additional fact that the whole intellectual process of the mind of modern man has been permitted to develop

without any formal recognition of social responsibility. Much has been made of the dedication of the heart of men to goodness, to righteousness, while the mind has been dedicated to truth, interpreted almost entirely in terms of the descriptive accuracy of a particular mental process. Truth has not been interpreted as including values that transcend the narrow limits of a definite field of knowledge in operation. We have made all manner of divisions between scientific truth, ethical truth, religious truth, etc. The God of religion is regarded basically, where He is admitted at all, in contradistinction to the God of life. So true is this fatal dichotomy in our thought that value reference for the individual is commonly regarded as having little to do with the practical living of life.

It follows then that the deep ethical criterion so needful as a corrective and a motivation for the creative working of mind in its mastery of nature has been almost entirely lacking. It is for this reason that precisely at the moment in human history when we have made our more radical scientific advances in the world we have remained almost stationary in our ethical and spiritual progress. It is the crime of Christianity that the teaching and the words of Jesus are still revolutionary and radical after 2000 years of human history. By some this may be regarded as a compliment to the tremendous

stature and timelessness of Jesus, but to me it means that with infinitely more existential resources at our command than he had we have failed to make good on the vision which he held before us.

CHAPTER XI

The Prayer for all Nations

By

Samuel Arthur Devan

HAPPY discoveries might provide neat solutions for the social problems which are discussed in some of the previous chapters. Such neat solutions would in all probability be adjustments of an economic or political character in the social, international and interracial areas of human life. Sorely needed as such readjustments may be, their discovery is not the business of a religious leader. There is enough intelligence and technical knowledge in the world now to meet fairly satisfactorily the major problems of the age in which we live. The real question is one of incentive. It is apposite to recall the story of a farm demonstration agent who called an agricultural group together and showed them how they might raise better crops. At the conclusion one of the listeners arose, spat, and then delivered a sententious speech. " 'Taint no use your comin' here, Mister, and tellin' us how to farm better. We ain't farmin' now half as well as we know how to.' "

This utterance points the way to the function of the religious leader. In a world that "ain't farmin' now half as well as it knows how," he must bring conscience, inspiration, and courage, and unselfish dedication—not only to the leaders but also to the masses. These are qualities that come into human life from God. It will be as men are in contact with God that they are able—like Joshua—to be strong and of a good courage, and succeed not only in leading out the dispossessed masses to take possession of their Promised Land, but also in persuading those who have already obtained a fairly comfortable security to endanger it for the sake of aiding the tribes which have not yet won their inheritance.

I

Worship is the primary means which the religious leader has at his command for bringing and keeping men in direct contact with God.

Any mature religious system has three phases—the *cultus,* the *dogma,* and the *ethic.* While any one of these may in a particular instance, at a given moment of history, be weak or retrograde as compared with the others, all three are essential for a functioning religion. Of the three, cultus is primordial. Dogma or ethic may at times be so unobtrusive as to seem entirely lacking, but

history does not indicate that any religious system has ever survived when its cultus has disappeared. Within the cultus, public worship is primary. Personal devotional practice, evangelism, missions, religious education, ecclesiastical organization are secondary elements of Protestant Christian cultus. Each of these is dependent on public worship for its vitality, and in fact for its very survival. Even private prayer more often arises out of previous experiences in the sanctuary, than the reverse.

Yet Protestantism has shown extreme indifference to the problems connected with worship. There has been no serious basic study of the subject since Reformation times. In modern liberal Protestantism the tendency has been to discount both cultus and dogma in the interest of ethic. Doctrine has been underrated and confused, and worship largely left to take care of itself, although secondary aspects of cultus, mentioned above, have been emphasized.

Even now, when a new appreciation of worship is arising, there will be many who are not disposed to concede that primacy to public worship which is asserted in the preceding paragraphs. We have been for so long telling people that the important thing is to do what is right, whether you go to church or not. We have stressed the fact that religion is what a man has in his heart, not what he displays

by attendance upon religious rites. We have quoted Micah and Isaiah as to the superiority of ethical over ritualistic considerations. In effect, we have absolved all Protestants from the sense of obligation to participate in public worship. We have told people that they should go to church because it will help them, it may help other people, they will meet the best persons in the community, they will hear good music, they will like the preaching, and after all they wouldn't like to live in a place where there is no church. We have not told them that God wants them to worship Him, that Jesus Christ assumed and enjoined such worship, and that the spiritual life of mankind (and probably their own spiritual life as well) will perish if they do not go to church. We have not led them to realize that public worship is the payment of a debt due to the Divine Majesty, and that *we assemble in worship to give something to God, even more than to get something from Him.* In fact, we have left our society with the too-comfortable assurance that if people do not feel like joining in public worship, or do not care for the way it is managed, or do not "get anything out of the service," they have no further responsibility in the matter.

All of which reminds the writer of Martin Luther's description of man as being like a drunken fellow riding on an ass. First he falls over this way, and then he falls over

that way; he can not hold anything steady. Because one or two of the ancient prophets, to put punch in their utterances, seem to imply that God may not have commanded worship at all, we disregard the whole Old and New Testaments with their emphasis on the importance of worship. Because it is possible to commune with God alone under the trees, we give the impression that it does not matter whether we commune with Him in church. Because the history of the Church reveals periods and places (only too often) when the ethical implications of the Gospel have been overshadowed by attention to ritual, we overlook two thousand years of history showing that effective ethical emphasis in religion has always been bound up with the public recognition of God. Because there are counterfeit bills in circulation, some one is always ready to abolish the currency. After all Amos preached at Bethel—not at Tekoa—and Jesus Christ went to the synagogue every sabbath and paid the temple-tax.

The three great elements of religion—cultus, dogma, and ethic—are of course closely interrelated. Cultus is dependent on dogma and ethic for the *material* which it uses. For example, the ethic of religion must find its way into the prayers of religion, and the whole cultus is built up on dogma—that is to say on the intellectual formulation of religious beliefs—or we will not even know

to whom we are praying. It is not the purpose of this chapter to deal with either ethic or dogma as such but it is germane to point out here that there is a great contribution which cultus is awaiting from both the two other elements. Until dogma and ethic are ready to present to cultus an inclusive picture of human destiny as God wills it and as Christian society should press toward it, all the forces of religion will go haltingly so far as social influence is concerned. The primitive Church had convictions about the goal of human life on earth. These convictions were largely apocalyptic. Jesus, who had come in the flesh, was to come again and make all things new. The Holy Supper was, among other things, a Feast of Victory in anticipation of the future. "In remembrance of me" looked not only backward to the Cross but forward to the realized Kingdom. Christianity has had revolutionary power only when it has led men to look ahead, with some clear-cut picture of their imagination as to where God was leading them. Such an outlook has been lacking for a long time in our doctrinal teaching. Dogma and ethic together should have given it to us.

The social-ethical implications of religion which (to our credit be it said) we have been stressing, will be largely powerless until we have some unifying concept about the will of God for human society. Dealing with this

problem and that, piecemeal, will not do. It is not inspiring to the emotions or satisfying to the intelligence. What *is* God's overall plan for human society? To what do we look forward? Where am I to fit into it? Where do other people, different from me—Germans, Negroes, Polynesians, Latin Americans, cotton-mill workers, for example—fit into it? How do education and recreation and business and art and marriage fit into this plan of God's? Such questions we have hardly tried to answer. The human mind craves a unitary, overall view of life, and our religious message will be weak until we have it.

Walter Rauschenbusch tells us how in his early ministry he sought such a unifying concept, something that would be both religiously and intellectually valid. He felt that he found it at last in his conception of the Kingdom of God. This concept of his may be open to objection on exegetical or other grounds; at any rate the Church at large has never accepted it, however inspiring it may have been to a limited group of adherents of the Social Gospel. But sooner or later Protestant theology should find a conception for the future of society, a new apocalyptic, which will sweep into holy enthusiasm all its present vague impulses for a better life for humanity, and give these impulses a rational and intelligible place in the religious life of mankind. This concept is needed for worship as much as it is for

social action. When it comes, the nations will have more to pray for.

II

Let us turn now to consider briefly some of the specific problems which the religious leadership of the Church must face if our worship is really to constitute a prayer for all nations. Disobeying William James, we will take the easiest first.

How shall we make our worship come to terms with art? Puritanism, the dominant tradition in English speaking Protestantism, began with a profound distrust of art, and has eyed it suspiciously ever since. Previously whatever art there was, was gathered up in the service of the Church. This was true, as we now know, even from the earliest days. Color was lavishly employed. Architecture reached summits which have never been surpassed. Pictures were used everywhere; sculpture too in the West. Light played a large function, whether you think of the candles on the altar or of the many-hued illumination of exquisite stained glass. Gorgeous and dignified vestments added their effects—even embroidery was not disdained as a handmaid to worship. The haze of incense not only carried the suggestion of prayer to the olfactory sense (which is the most closely connected with psychological suggestion of all our five senses), but toned down the

harsh outlines of arch and rafter to the eye, enhancing the suggestion of infinity already created by the lofty vaulting and the long-drawn nave. Significant gesture (e. g., the sign of the cross, a wordless prayer, just as a handshake is a gesture of wordless good-will) and other kinds of symbolic action, had a large part to play in worship. All these things Puritanism, for reasons which seemed good at the time, threw out. With the partial exception of music, they have been out ever since. But art had its revenge, as art always does. Art turned its back on the Church, went its pagan way. The Church suffered, art suffered, and the religious welfare of mankind suffered, by this severance.

To some extent the breach is being healed. At least the denominations with which we are familiar are taking an interest in architecture, and no longer feel that religion to be pure must be housed in a whitewashed chapel or even something downright ugly. We have stained windows, such as they are. Candles (the expression of *living light*) are reappearing (not always in the right place). Robes for choristers are coming into use as an alternative to contemporary styles of street dress. Prince Albert coats for the clergy, have gone, though the even more dreadful cutaway is still with us. We do not have paintings and sculpture in our churches, though we may come to it. We make some play with the light-

ing effects which electricity makes possible, though the theater is still far ahead of us on this. Music is improving. Gesture, even kneeling, is still taboo, but the offering is usually taken with more dignity than it used to be and sometimes symbolically offered to God on the altar. Taste is rising. There is more beauty as well as more dignity in our worship, but we are still hampered by the Puritan tradition from branching out and trying to bring loveliness into real association with holiness.

We come now to a profounder question. *How can our worship be made dramatic?* So far Protestantism has been singularly unsuccessful in dramatizing worship. In fact we have not even attempted to tell the story of Jesus in any other way than by preaching great sermons. We have appealed only to "ear-gate," forgetting that mankind is perhaps more powerfully impressed by what reaches the mind through "eye-gate" (John Bunyan's phrase). We can never hope to make our prayer one in which all nations can join unless we have something more dramatic in our worship than the unilateral conduct of the service by one man, standing behind a pulpit. There is to be sure plenty of *sound,* from minister and choir and hymn-singing, but there is very little *movement.* Movement and sound together can be made to tell a story.

The Church possesses a story, the greatest story ever told, utterly matchless in all literature. It is a long story, beginning with the Creation and rising in climax to the Supreme Sacrifice on the Cross, and the triumphant victory of the Third Day. This story involves all Nature and reaches out to distant worlds in unfathomable space. It touches every phase of human life with the most thrilling poignancy. All our struggle and our sin, our hopes and our fears, our forgiveness and our gratitude, our redemption and our everlasting hope—they are all bound up with this Divine Story. Not only our personal lives are involved but the future of the nations and races of mankind on the earth, and the whole Divine Kingdom. Let us think of this story, and then of our Sunday morning services. Are we really telling this story to the nations? Are we telling it to ourselves?

What an opportunity for drama! The dramatic effects of Roman Catholic and Orthodox worship are often commented upon. If we had more religious daring, passion and genius, Protestantism could tell the story of Jesus to the world in ways that could make the now superior effectiveness of the older churches seem crude and childish. We boast of our freedom from tradition, but in worship at least suffer ourselves to be bound by tradition hand and foot.

An adequate answer to the question of

dramatizing the Gospel, would lead us far toward the solution of the next question. *How can we make our local worship ecumenical?* In the Protestant background there is a long and conscious tradition of individualism and parochialism. This is particularly true in the denominations which came out of revolt from state churches, and of those which developed out of frontier evangelism in America. We are scarcely conscious that an assembly for worship is more than a congeries of individual souls. We have not learned to see that a *function of society* is being fulfilled every time a community group gathers to worship Almighty God. Still less do we have a sense of other nations, other races, all the great human family, gathered about the Father's feet. Yet that is what is really happening when "two or three are gathered together," for worship is not only actual but representative. If mankind is to attain the unity of brothers, we must find ways to represent this in our worship.

We might begin with the decorations of our churches. Our pictures and windows might show Negroes and Chinese instead of only Anglo-Saxon faces. We might have flags and other emblems of other nations somewhere in view. But mainly, some portion of our worship must actually be made identical with the worship of Christians of other branches of Christ's Church, and with

the worship of other nationalities and races. This could be done, by agreement, for of course Protestantism has no authority to require such a thing. A beginning could be made by securing the use of a simple prayer and response. Most of us have little idea how powerful is the effect on the mind of a Catholic of the knowledge that, though he may find himself in a foreign country, he can enter any Catholic church he sees, and there he will see the same actions taking place, with the same gestures accompanying them, and will hear the same words being said with the same cadences and intonations, that were part of his religious experience in his childhood at home. If we Protestants are really setting out to build an ecumenical Christianity, one of the first things for us to do is to see that some elements in the customary morning service and in the communion, are identical in all Christian churches.

There remains for us another question, for which as yet no shadow of an answer has been forthcoming. It is not a new question, but it rises upon us with especial force in this age of world-wide upheaval and agonized uncertainty. *How can our worship combine its emphasis on the timeless verities of the Christian faith, with its emphasis on the spiritual and moral needs of a tortured contemporary humanity?* We must deal with the problems that are pressing like sword thrusts in the

hearts of the nations, yet we must not surrender to mere contemporaneousness.

The difficulty lies in the realm of practice, not of theory. It is a sharp test of religious leadership to keep the timeless and the timely in due adjustment, though every religious person knows that the real answer to the needs of our time is not to be found in the resources of our time alone, and that the hurts of mankind will get more healing in the Jordan than in Abana and Pharpar. The greatest answer to all problems is that which is contained in the Apostles' Creed—"I believe in God the Father Almighty." That is the Church's ringing answer to all doubts and fears.

Here the non-ritualistic churchman has the advantage. He *can,* in his prayers and in his sermon, deal with the problems of today in the light of eternity more freely than his colleague who has to use the usually more stilted formulas of former times. The trouble is that in actual practice he is more apt to slight the eternal verities for the more realistic worries of his congregation. Your ancient ritual, seldom revised and then only cautiously, may sometimes be lacking in heart-warming reference to the concerns that immediately oppress us, but it does always lay stress on what after all are the only answers to our questions, the love of God and the

history of our redemption. How often in the services of free churches, does one hear in prayer or sermon any reference to the Incarnation (the basis of the Christian message), or to the sacrifice of Christ as an oblation for the sins of the whole world, or to the Forgiveness of Sin (the fundamental moral problem), or to Justification by Faith (the fundamental axiom of personal religion and life), or to the Future Life (our only final perspective on all problems)? Prayers for the freedom of the people from war, alcoholism or child-labor, or sermons against these, do not take the place of the deeper note. Sometimes they are little more profound than editorials in current journals.

III

All of life must be related to God in our worship more perfectly than has yet been done. Just above we have been thinking of the great problems and acute agonies of mankind in an era of peculiar stress, but that is only occasional after all. It is the *daily* life of the individual, with its little experiences, which must chiefly be brought to the altar and sanctified through common worship. This might almost be called a new insight of our time. It has never perhaps been better expressed than by Basil King in *The Conquest of Fear*. "The Kingdom of God," he says, "is the Universal Kingdom, including every-

one and everything — all interests, all commerce, all government, all invention, all art, all amusement, all the staid pursuits of the old and all the ardour of the young, all sport, all laughter, all that makes for gladness. It is the Kingdom of the bird and the flower and the horse and the motor-car and the motion-picture house and the office and the theater and the ballroom and the school and the college and everything else that man has evolved for himself. He has evolved these things wrongly because nine times out of ten he has seen them as outside God's Kingdom, instead of being God's own undertakings because they are ours."

When our worship succeeds in bringing not only all the somber problems but all the bright features of the common life into its domain, and helps men to see all of life as lived in the Divine Presence, we shall have gone far toward making our churches houses of prayer for all people. We might, for a start, stress special services for professional groups. How much it would mean, for example, if a church had occasionally a special service for business men, at which there would be special prayer covering the functions of business men in society, including recognition of their services to the community as well as of the temptations to which they are subject, and providing opportunity by the use of "directed" silent prayer, for each man individually to ask

for guidance in the face of the particular business problem that causes him anxiety at the moment. How many business men of today have any idea that God is interested in their business?

The discussions in this chapter have touched on only a few of the matters connected with the future worship of Christendom which deserve study. The intention has been not to raise and answer all the questions, but to suggest some of the vistas that must be explored by the future leadership of the Church. That leadership will face no questions of which the consideration is more important, and will have no possibilities of action more far-reaching. The worship of the future must bring together all the varied children of the Father's house.

There is no fellowship like that of worship. It clears all bounds—those between nations and tribes and kindreds and tongues—those between the centuries past and the centuries that are to come. It joins together those who have crossed the River we call Death and those who are still on this side of the River. "On this side of the River and on that," reads our Revised Version, "is the Tree of Life"—mystically enough, for no earthly tree could grow on two sides of a river at once. Worship is the Tree of Life, it has its roots in two worlds. It grows perennially, and its varied

fruit is yielded month by month. And the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations.

CHAPTER XII

The Church in the New American City

By

Edwin Theodore Dahlberg

"THE city must be planned for the eternal life of every citizen."

Thus did the Provost of Coventry, the Very Reverend R. T. Howard, sum up his address on "The Spiritual Foundations of Our New Cities," at a civic luncheon of Plymouth's Religion and Life Week, October 22, 1943, called to consider the restoration of the partially devasted areas of England. He went on to say:

"That, of course, means that our churches must stand at the centre of every neighborhood-unit, calling and gathering the people to the communal worship of God. It means that factories should have their places of worship, where daily work is hallowed to the honour and glory of the Eternal. It means perhaps that in every street, perhaps within a hundred yards of every house, there should be a little oratory into which the people of that tiny neighborhood can easily drop

for prayer and quiet which is so easily denied us in our homes. And nothing that happens in man's ordinary activities must make it difficult or impossible, as it so often is now, to live the spiritual life which is his true nature.

"These are just indications of that good life which it is the basis and primary purpose of every city to develop. Utopia? No. I protest that if it was possible for men to plan engines of destruction, based on every invention of modern science, in order to make your city and my city actually a city of death, then it is possible to use the same science to make our cities cities of the good life—if we will that it shall be so.

"We must deliberately seek to apply to our cities of stone and brick and cement, our cities made up of factory, house and civic building, that which applies to the City of God in Heaven the archetype of all earthly cities, 'God is in the midst of her.' "[1]

I

It is imperative that here in America we think just as urgently about the re-planning of our urban religious life as are the people of Plymouth and Coventry. We have not

1 "The Spiritual Issues of the War," distributed by the British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

seen our cities bombed out by block-busters. But cultural and economic forces have been bombarding our old patterns of city life as relentlessly as though there had been a raid by the Luftwaffe.

Something is happening to our down town churches that is comparable to what has happened to the island churches of Norway. Bishop Berggrav, in his great book, *Land of Suspense,* tells about this in his fine chapter, "Steering Wheel Versus Reindeer Line." As long as Norwegian fishermen plied their trade in row boats, their community life centered out on the islands, where they were reasonably near to the fishing banks. Some of the most thriving Lutheran churches were established on these islands. With the coming of motor boats and automobiles all this changed. The fishermen moved in to the mainland, where they would be closer to the markets and an excellent net-work of good roads. Consequently the old island churches have been left stranded in lonely ghost towns far out toward the sea. The problem now arises of moving the main church edifice into the mainland, and at the same time caring for the few scattered islanders, who are left practically unchurched because they can not afford to buy a motor boat. A solution has in some instances been found in the "little church" movement, whereby small chapels or prayer houses are being built for the remote

populations on the islands, visited from time to time by itinerant missionary pastors.[2]

We can readily see where a similar statesmanship is going to be required in re-organizing the church life of the American city.

Few of our communities in the western world were designed in any conscious way. Certainly they were not planned for the eternal life of every citizen. They grew in individualistic fashion, according to the impulses of personal profit and convenience. It is not strange, therefore, that many of our metropolitan areas are dying and decaying from center to circumference. Especially at the center, where we find a "sore and overloaded heart."

The old core of the community, consisting of the earliest residences and stores, has become a blighted area with run down business houses and dreary slums. Main Street is a tangle of traffic. Often it takes half an hour to walk from a parking space to the places of worship, amusement, and trade. There is not enough light, not enough air, not enough room for children to play. In the writer's own city of Syracuse, New York, forty per cent of the city's crime and delinquency is in the ten per cent of the city's area at the center.

Consequently, the more fortunate residents of most cities have pushed farther and farther

2 Eivind Berggrav, *Land of Suspense,* Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1943.

out into the suburbs in order to find some of the space, quiet, and privacy congenial to the American spirit. But this spread to the suburbs has not been a solution to the problem. It has been one more economic blow at the heart of the community. For it has resulted in such high tax assessments in the older city area, and created so much non-taxable or tax delinquent property at the center, that the whole urban society has been threatened with financial and spiritual bankruptcy alike. Moreover, it has created such tremendous distances to be covered in the daily journey to work and back that a pitifully small margin of time is left for the leisure and neighborliness necessary to a healthy and democratic life even in the suburbs. An extreme example is the metropolitan area of New York City, which involves three states, twenty-two counties, and nearly five hundred incorporated cities, towns, and villages.[3]

All this necessitates a re-thinking of the entire life of the modern city: physically, culturally, and spiritually.

One of the classic examples of the re-planning of a city was Egypt's "City of the Horizon."

The king of Egypt at that time—thirty-

3 Information Service, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City, June 3, 1944.

three hundred years ago—was one of the great kings of mankind. His title to fame rests upon the fact that he was probably one of the first men in the world to grasp the thought of one God—a God of the Spirit, worthy of worship as the universal ruler of all nations. Centuries before the appearance of the Hebrew prophets, and fourteen hundred years before the birth of Christ, this man on the edge of the Egyptian desert wrote the noble psalm entitled, "The Hymn to Aten."

> Thy dawning is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,
> O Living Lord, Beginning of Life!
> When thou risest in the eastern horizon of heaven,
> Thou fillest every land with thy beauty,
> Thou bindest them with thy love.
> Though thou art afar, thy rays are on earth,
> Though thou art on high, thy footprints are the day.

While in the midst of his contemplation of the one supreme God, this king conceived the idea of building a city. It was to be a city dedicated to a deity wholly purified of the superstitions and sins of the old pagan religions. So he set to work and transported his whole imperial capital from Thebes to a secluded spot three hundred miles down the Nile. There at Tell-el-Amarna, a little land bay reaching back among the cliffs a distance of three miles and extending along the river six miles, he founded what he called "The City of the Horizon." In token of the new

faith, he took upon himself the name of Akhenaten, and attempted the colossal task of establishing a world religion hundreds of years before such a thought had dawned upon the rest of the human race. As far as his own generation was concerned, he failed. While he indited psalms to his God, barbarian invaders overwhelmed the distant provinces of the empire. Hostile priests of the old state regime joined with palace plotters in treacherous intrigues. So the king's whole dream seemed to end with him. As James Baikie has said in his *Life of the Ancient East*: "Twenty-five years after its founding, the City of the Horizon was abandoned to the jackal and owl, and the gentle dreamer who had reared it was sleeping his long sleep." The world was not ready.

It was a magnificent vision, however, and one that we might well re-capture, especially now when whole civilizations are being blasted out of existence. Mankind desperately needs some horizon cities, built for the eternal life of every citizen.

As in Akhenaten's day, strongly entrenched political and commercial interests are determined to maintain the status quo. But an aroused public opinion has in many quarters come to see that when housing conditions are such that children hardly have the opportunity to be born, and most of our police and fire and ambulance calls are centered

in certain given areas, it is a matter of public necessity to re-organize whole sections of the community in such a manner as to conform with the Christian ideal.

In these righteous movements, the Christian church must take the lead.

II

It may seem materialistic, unspiritual, to lay such emphasis on the physical arrangement and equipment of a city. As Nathan Straus has pointed out, whenever a strong case is made for public housing projects, there are seven myths brought forward in opposition to such public enterprise:

"There are no slums in my town," "public housing does not clear slums," "The government should buy up the slums," "public housing is costly and extravagant," "public housing does not rehouse families from the slums," "the slum-dweller creates the slums," "public housing injures private business and threatens to bankrupt the country."[4]

And yet it has been amply demonstrated that about nine families out of ten when moved from sordid tenement areas into airy public housing fit themselves into their new environment immediately, and the number who can not do so is infinitesmal.

The writer can bear personal testimony to

4 *Seven Myths of Housing,* New York, 1944.

this fact. When I came to the city of Syracuse a little over six years ago, a great new housing area was just in process of construction, in a section of the city where there had been many blocks of congested, run-down homes. Favorably inclined though we were to the idea, many people wondered what would be the outcome. Would it result in a political bloc in the center of the city, with a controlled vote? Would the tenants let it go to seed, so that it would become an eye-sore to the community—a new slum area of red brick and cement? We had many meetings, surveys, and what not, to guard against these contingencies. Now after six years, some of us smile at our own anxieties. I go by the housing area almost every morning. As I have walked through every nook and cranny of it, and visited the people, I have marvelled at the shining windows, the attractive curtains, the green grass, and the happy hordes of children playing in recreation spaces completely protected against street traffic. It has been a source of pride to many of us in the ministry that one of the most active leaders in the Housing Authority has been one of our own ministerial colleagues, Dr. Calvin M. Thompson, Jr., pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church. Of all the things that have been accomplished for the kingdom of God in our city, this is one of the most Christian achievements that any

leader of the church, lay or clerical, has to his credit.

Every community in America is challenged today to a complete revision of its whole spirit and structure.

Many are accepting the challenge. The Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches lists three American cities in particular, that have been making far-reaching civic plans for the post-war period. They are Portland, Oregon; Louisville, Kentucky; and Syracuse, New York.

I can speak only for my own city.

For two years the Syracuse-Onondaga Postwar Planning Council has been at work, under the auspices of *Fortune* magazine, studying every aspect of community life. It would be inspiration to any casual visitor from the outside to come into one of the meetings of several hundred citizens, presided over by Chancellor William P. Tolley of Syracuse University, and representing practically every group in the city, whether churches, schools, labor unions, industrialists, the city hall, or social and recreational agencies. It is the nearest to an old-fashioned town meeting in action of anything one could imagine.

The Planning Council consists of three major groups. The first is the Research and

Planning group, headed by Dr. Finla Crawford of the University. The second is the Ways and Means Group, of which Carleton Brown, Vice President of L. C. Smith and Corona Typewriters, Inc. is the Chairman, studying legal and financial problems. The Public Participation Group, headed by F. Ware Clary, President of the Board of Education, is charged with finding out what the community wants and keeping it informed of the plan's progress. Under these main divisions are many sub-sections, including the Housing Authority, the County Park and Planning Board, the County Public Works Commission, and a Commission on Religion, with representatives of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths. To quote the May, 1943 issue of *Fortune*:

"Syracuse is being replanned by the citizens, all the citizens, of Syracuse. Their first and hardest task is to decide what kind of a city they want. Syracuse will never be the biggest or the richest of cities. But its citizens might take this as their civic ambition: to make Syracuse famous as the most *livable* city in America."[5]

The trend of all these civic planning movements is such that we should hesitate a long time before abandoning our downtown

5 "Syracuse Plans Its Future." Reprints available without charge, *Fortune Magazine*, Time and Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York City.

churches. However great the struggle may be to maintain them temporarily, their day may return.

Thus far most cities have found a solution to their problems mainly by spreading. People have sought in the suburbs the satisfaction of their typically American desire for privacy, garden space, and quiet. Undoubtedly this process will continue. Even now, outlying neighborhoods are being planned as self-contained units, with homes surrounded by little greenbelts, play space safeguarded against traffic dangers, and with little civic centers, churches, schools, and shopping areas close to every family. But there is promise at the same time that the old down town districts will be made over into pleasant residential sections again. For as the editors of *Fortune* have pointed out:

"Unless the spreading process is guided, it will not only result in repetitions of the present conditions: it will also involve the danger of throwing out of gear any general transportation system that can be devised. . . . A re-arrangement of the interior is wanted that will put the city itself definitely and permanently in a position of competitive equality with the suburbs and the countryside. Something like general agreement seems to have been reached among planners on the proposition that the interior as well

as the suburbs should be reshaped to form neighborhoods."[6]

III

So much for city planning. But it is one thing to project such new developments and another matter to effect them. Here is where the church, and the gospel of Jesus Christ, enter the picture.

We dare not wait for some ideal plan, editorially conceived, to be consummated before we get to work in the present, right where we are. As the noted lay Catholic writer, Jacques Maritain, has pointed out recently in his book on *Christianity and Democracy,*[7] the roots of democracy are "evangelical," and its future is bound up with the "evangelical message." Unless there is a powerful release of evangelical enthusiasm and concern for the human soul, and a great "baptism into a feeling of the conditions of the people," to use John Woolman's famous phrase, all our surveys and investigations will be tossed into the valley of dry bones, along with the skeletal remains of planning commissions and peace conferences since the world began. Our first responsibility is to preach Christ, by every device of word and deed that we can imagine.

To this end, we need to recover the power

6 *Fortune Magazine.* January, 1943.
7 New York, 1944.

of propaganda. All too many pastors and laymen alike are lacking in those qualities of imagination, daring, and zeal by which to reach the hearts of the people. The plea is that "people are out of town," or "we have so few opportunities in our parish." Yet if someone should turn in a fire alarm at the dullest season of the year, the streets would in sixty seconds be crowded with fathers, mothers, and children for many blocks around. There is the opportunity. There are the people. And wherever there are people, a message, and a messenger, there can be a living, dynamic church, however grave the difficulties may be.

It is amazing how some Holiness preacher or Jehovah's Witness can go into an area abandoned by the established churches, and by means of house to house visitation establish a thriving, flourishing band of followers in the space of a few months. There is no reason why some of our more intelligent, civic minded churches should not do the same thing, provided people join their thinking to the empowering fervor and contagion of the Holy Spirit, and recover the apostolic power of propaganda.

Preaching and propaganda must at all times go hand in hand with a warm-hearted Christian fellowship and ministry.

When the Reverend Michael Coleman of All-Hallows-By-The-Tower, London, was in

this country following the shattering of his church by the German bombing raids, a woman said to him, "Well, I suppose with your church gone, there is hardly anything you can do." His comment was, "She did not know that every night in the week we have a prayer meeting of three thousand people in the bomb shelters around that area." An overwhelming disaster had become the opportunity for a re-vitalized ministry. The rector and his people prayed with the families crowded together on their mattresses in the subways. They comforted crying babies. They arranged for "Singspirations" and entertainment. They brought the living Christ to the despairing, unshepherded multitude. Why can we not do the same? Must it always take wars, riots, and revolutions to awaken us to our responsibility to the people right at our doors?

Once we regain a contagious, evangelical missionary spirit, the techniques of service can easily be discovered and applied. There are a hundred things waiting to be done, which do not need to be postponed until post-war planning commissions shift whole cities on their foundations.

For instance, there are scores of teen-age girls around every city church who would welcome a "School of Mothercraft." They have never been taught how to bathe and dress a baby, make a bed, or cook a meal.

One of the proudest groups I have ever seen at the closing exercises of a Vacation Bible School was a class of fifteen year old girls who demonstrated to their mothers and fathers what a public health nurse had taught them in such a School of Mothercraft during the summer term.

Many Negro boys and girls have never had a chance to hear a pipe organ, or a great church choir, except over the radio. Why should they not be invited as guests of the Primary service? A medical officer assigned to a Negro unit in the army told me how bitterly he had rebelled against his service to another race, until he came back to his home church on furlough one Sunday and saw little white children and black children go out to the Junior Church hour hand in hand, on Mother's Day. Young people carry out interesting projects, too, in such fellowships as an inter-racial choir of sixty voices, and excursions testing out the attitudes of amusement managers on inter-racial theater and roller skating parties.

If there ever was a mission field calling for the compassion of the churches towards the multitudes who are as sheep without a shepherd, it is the rooming house districts of our great cities. Here are elderly people on old age pensions, amounting to only twenty-eight dollars a month. Here are young

married couples, trying to live in one or two little rooms, with only a gas plate for cooking, and a bath tub on the next floor down as their only laundry facility. They are lonely, desolate, and do not know a soul in town. Would not even the most elementary Christian impulse inspire men's brotherhoods, women's societies, and young married people's clubs to visit these near-by neighbors and create a friendly fellowship with them? Russell Conwell, founder of the great Temple Baptist Church of Philadelphia a generation ago, had as his life motto: "Doing the Next Thing." Many churches would have a radical re-awakening if they just did the next thing, whether it be loaning a Kiddy-Koop for the new baby across the alley, or establishing a little co-operative for the financing of medical expenses.

One young people's society was stirred to the depths by a simple experience of Sunday morning visitation from house to house to house through a solidly Jewish, Russian, and Communist neighborhood surrounding an old aristocratic church in the down-town tenement and warehouse section. All they did was to knock at each door, and in a spirit of friendly courtesy, leave a paper bound copy of the Gospel according to John, stamped with the words, "Compliments of the First Baptist Church." They met drunken women. They saw some of their booklets tossed out

of the window. But for the most part they had a very kind reception. They learned more about their community in that one hour, and were more quickened in their own spirit, than by years of preaching and Sunday School teaching. A group of pastors in another city is having a similar experience in meeting once a month with a group of A. F. of L. and C. I. O. leaders, and another evening a month with the biggest industrialists of the city. In these widening associations of the church there is a melting down of antagonisms, the creation of a new spiritual climate, and a feeling that the church cares. If there had been more of this activist and propagandist spirit in the churches of Europe, we might have been spared the terrors of totalitarianism and world war. The European state churches made the mistake of becoming so other-worldly, and so separated from the people, that the youth of a whole continent had to seek spiritual satisfactions in the secular order, developing finally into a kind of neo-paganism. The same thing will happen here unless the people of Christ hear the cries of race and clan and answer them. We can not expect to have a living church, with a complacent, exclusive suburban mentality, dwelling comfortably in the midst of human wretchedness begging alms every day at the Gate Beautiful.

Christ is still crying to the city, saying,

"O Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" His church — while industrialists, educators, and politicians plan new housing units and zoning laws— must continue to proclaim him and follow him, seeking the lost, healing the leper, giving sight to the blind, encouraging the worker, and saying to the publican, "This day is salvation come to this house." For except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.

If this means, as the Provost of Coventry contends, that there should be a place of worship in every factory, and a little oratory within a hundred yards of every house, where the people of the neighborhood can drop in for prayer and quiet, why not? We have chapels in our colleges and army camps, interdenominationally administered. Is there any reason why we should not have little sanctuaries of the spirit also in every factory and department store? The main thing is that "the city must be planned for the eternal life of every citizen. For that is the end and object of all life here upon earth, that in and through his daily life—all of it—a man may learn to have fellowship with God, His eternal Master and Father and Saviour and Lord."

"Teach us to build; upon the solid rock
We set the dream that hardens into deed;
Ribbed with the steel that time and change doth mock—

The unfailing purpose of our noblest creed;
Teach us to build, O Master, lend us sight
To see the towers gleaming in the light."

CHAPTER XIII

The Farmer's Field Is the World

By

Mark Rich

DURING the drought on the Great Plains in the 1930's an Iowa farmer looking up at a dust cloud sweeping in from the west remarked, "Here comes another Nebraska farm." If the Iowa farmer did not know it before, the dust storms taught him that Iowa and Nebraska were related. The Iowa farmer who gave further thought realized too that this flying Nebraska dust was more than a physical phenomenon. It took more than high winds and drought to produce a "dust bowl." A scale of values, a concept of social relations, a view of life, yes, the religious philosophy and theology of the people had much to do with producing the dust storms.

So the storm clouds of our time which have overshadowed every household should impress upon people everywhere the interrelatedness of all parts of the world and of the unitary nature of life. It should not take the tragedy of a dust storm or the holocaust of war to bring home to Christians these

truths. Jesus taught with forcefulness that this is one world, that a man's life cannot be divided into segments, that it is one whole.

In formulating a philosophy and building a program for the church in town and country these facts must be kept central. The church's philosophy must be universally applicable; the same basic principles applying to a church in Ohio and in India. The variation is only in the application of the principles. Moreover, this philosophy and program must embrace the various interests and aspects of individual and social relations as parts in one pattern of life.

I

Three Relationships: The necessary unified outlook can be expressed in terms of three relationships; man's relationship to God, man's relationship to his fellows; and man's relationship to land or productive property. The nature of this "triumvirate" of relationships determines the quality of individual character and of human society, and when fully established constitutes the Kingdom of God on earth.

Of these three necessary relationships the first imperative is that a man become "right with God." Thus he finds ultimate security, he is established in the truth, he acquires a right sense of direction, he finds his place in

the world, and he comes to see life and values as they are.

The second imperative is that a man be rightly related to his fellows. Good human relationships are expressed in many ways. Where relationships are right, farmers may leave doors unlocked without fear of robbery, crops are unguarded, there is a spirit of mutuality in the neighborhood expressed in local and larger relationships. Individuals will respond sympathetically to the condition of others. Expressions of right relationships in the community are congenial face-to-face contacts, family unity and solidarity, a friendly school, harmonious church life, and congenial attitudes between economic, nationality and racial groups. These attitudes will be extended to include state, nation and the world.

The relationship to land or productive property is hardly less important than the first two relationships. Walter Rauschenbusch wrote, "Next to life itself the greatest gift of God to man is the land from which all life is nourished." Henry George's definition of land is widely used. Land includes "not merely the surface of the earth . . . but the whole material universe outside of man himself. . . . The term land embraces in short, all natural materials, forces and opportunities."[1]

1 Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, Modern Library, p. 38.

Land may refer to a fertile field, a vein of ore, a forest, or a falling stream which supplies power. Even a factory or a store may be included in the term.

Through right relationship to land, man finds physical sustenance and security. This relationship determines the economic structure of society; whether a society is capitalistic, socialistic or communistic. Many questions grow out of this relationship, namely, individual ownership, cooperative ownership, tenantry, the share cropper problem, corporation farming, migrantcy, and family farming.

One Pattern of Life: Not only is each one of these three relationships individually important; they are inter-related, forming together one pattern of life. No one of these relationships alone can make a life what it should be. One cannot love God without loving man. One cannot love man fully if he does not have the right relationship to property or land. Nor can one truly love God and not have the right attitude toward his creation.

Catholic rural leaders have stated this point of view in admirable fashion in the preface to a *Manifesto on Rural Life.*

"In propounding social philosophy, the Catholic Church does not leave out of view the spiritual nature of man and his ultimate spiritual destiny. She would not be true to

her mission if she did do so. Indeed, the salvation of souls must ever be her first concern. But so intimately are material things interwoven with man's daily conduct, its motives and its deeds, that the Church cannot be unconcerned about what goes on in the material order of things. In point of fact, a pure secularism which would divorce man's earthly life from spiritual concerns is not in accord with realities of man's daily living. To ignore either the spiritual or the material in their manifold interrelations can only result in disaster."[2]

II

Protestant Emphasis Out of Balance: These three relationships like threads of three colors are woven into one pattern of life. No expression of Christian faith is complete unless all the threads are used. Protestantism in the United States has quite consistently woven its pattern of rural service out of threads of one color indicating a personal relationship to God, with fewer threads of a second color indicating relationship to man; and only occasional threads indicating relationship to land.

Protestantism has had its largest fruitage in leading men to a direct individual relationship to God and to others. It has been

2 *Manifesto on Rural Life*, p. vi.

very weak in teaching the wider social relationships in directing men to a right relationship to land, and in interpreting the unitary nature of the three relationships. We have destroyed the resources of soil, we have wasted forests, we have dried and polluted rivers. We have made farming a business venture more than a way of life. We have pushed upward the cost of investment to such a peak that the farmers can hardly own the farms they operate. This holds also for mining and for fishing. We have millions of people who are little higher than serfs. Great corporations have gathered extensive land holdings. We have adopted a policy that if pursued will make the land desolate in another century or two. All this has happened while we have placidly thought it was none of the church's business. Man's relation to land has not been conceived as a spiritual relationship bound together with the other relationships.

For instance, when a town and country church has been concerned for a loss in membership, it has seldom thought to combat tenantry (a cause of church decline) by a program of land settlement. Nor has it often thought of the restoration of the soil as a religious act. Unlike the "Old McDonald (who) Had a Farm," it has been deemed quite possible to save souls without reference to saving soil; that is, a man's religious faith

could be nurtured with a minimum of reference to the social and economic milieu in which he existed.

Moreover, it has frequently been assumed that a breakdown in economic or man-land relationships grows out of a weakness in a so-called material ordering of life. On the contrary these economic maladjustments are universally due to flaws in the man-God and in the man-man relationships. Toynbee, in *A Study of History* illustrates this truth when he writes: "It is manifest that in the fourth century B. C. as in the sixth and seventh and thirteenth centuries of the Christian Era, the physical failure of Man to maintain over Nature the command which Man had once imposed upon her was the consequence and not the cause of man's social failure to manage his relations with his human neighbor."[3]

The abandonment of Roman roads was in no way the cause of the breakdown of the Roman Empire. Rome suffered from a social and spiritual malady. The concepts of God and of human relations were wrong. How then could the third relationship be maintained though there was no loss in skills and techniques of road building?

Dr. Sam Higginbottam in *The Gospel and the Plow* further amplifies this truth when he points out that the famine conditions in India

3 Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, IV, 45.

are the result of the caste system. So, to feed the hungry it is imperative to do something about the caste system. Furthermore, changing the social relationships in the caste system involves a new concept of God and a new relationship to Him.

This relationship is evident in most social and economic problems. Christian people are shocked by the hunger in the world. They read in the report of the Hot Springs Food Conference as follows:

"Thus long after the industrial revolution, two-thirds of the people of the world normally do not have enough to eat."

"Knowledge of nutrition has so advanced that we know as never before the fundamental importance of adequate nutrition, and what its requirements are.

"Technology in production has so improved that we know how to produce enough food so that an adequate diet may be possible for everyone."[4]

Obviously the way to meet this need is to improve the world system of transportation so that the food now available may be properly distributed. It is a question of mechanics and economics. But the roots of the problem run deeper than that. Again this is basically a question of human relationships and of religion. If the teachings of

4 Paul H. Appleby, "The Hot Springs Food Conference and Its Sequel" (Mimeographed).

Jesus were understood and believed and practiced in their full meaning, feeding the world would not be a relief measure. All people would eat because the religion of Christ permeated all vital human relationships.

Primitive religions have sometimes held to this unified view of life. The Hopi Indian standing on the edge of the mesa, greeting the day with a prayer, may have an inadequate conception of his gods or God. But, he is right when he thinks that religion is concerned in everything that he does and is. Vital religion always has been concerned for these three areas. The Old Testament law not only said, "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself"; it laid down principles and regulations to guide men in their relationship to the physical world and property.

III

The Rural Church's Preferred Position: The church now faces a crisis in which it is imperative to expand its conception of the Christian Gospel. Despite the comparative smallness, isolation, poverty, and apparent insignificance of its local church units, the church in town and country has a preferred position in fostering the larger expression of the Christian faith through these three relationships. Let us examine certain conditions which lay upon the rural church the

opportunity for advancing boldly into this field of leadership.

Think of the potentialities for leading men to God. Men still continue to find the natural world a "book of revelation" through which God becomes real. The rural church set in the midst of a natural order can use God's world as a means of introducing men to the Creator.

Men come to know God as He is expressed through individuals. Supremely, He is seen in Christ, who is redolent of the countryside and of country things. So much is He a part of the country that it is doubtful that His Gospel could be significantly expressed in a modern scientific or industrial terminology. Moreover, rural life offers large opportunity for intimate fellowship, through which Christ-like characters make a strong impact for godly living.

The farmer should be first among those who can understand the Bible. It is the countryman's book. "The Lord is my Shepherd!" The Word is the "good seed" and evil the "tares." When a man follows God he puts his hand to the plow. Some of the disciples were fishermen.

Sorokin and Zimmerman in *Rural-Urban Sociology* point to this natural advantage of rural populations as compared to urban populations. In the country there is a lower rate of suicide, a lower mortality rate, a

higher birthrate, a lower rate for mental disease and a smaller percentage of divorces. Apparently, life is more to be desired in the country than in the city. Martin Luther confirmed this point of view when he wrote, "All I know is that it were much more godly to encourage agriculture and lessen commerce; and that they do the best who, according to the Scriptures, till the ground to get their living."[5]

But it should not be assumed that there is anything automatic about this excellence. The rural world as a whole is under-nourished, illiterate, poverty-stricken, materialistic, uncultured, and lacking in spiritual values. Rousseau said that man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains. So, town and country apparently has the natural advantage in offering man opportunity for fullest expression of his God-given qualities and relationships; but everywhere rural people live in bonds.

Men everywhere can find God. We only point out that the town and country church has many easily available resources for leading men to a right relationship to God. In town and country, contacts are intimate and face-to-face, and the significance of right human relationships is most obvious. The close relationship to land, the cycle of seed-

5 Martin Luther, "Address to the Christian Nobility", *Harvard Classics*, XXXVI, 349.

time and harvest, the proximity of the natural world gives meaning to the relationship of man to land. The rural community accordingly has a preferred position as a place in which to nurture man in establishing right relationships in these three areas. The Kingdom of God should grow more naturally in rural than in urban life. Christian living should there flower at its best.

New and Wider Interests: There are many evdences that churches in town and country are interpreting their faith and mission in terms of these three relationships.

The recent interest in worship centered in the rural days, events and experiences, is encouraging. Rural Life Sunday, inaugurated in 1929, a modern revival of ancient Rogation Days, is now widely observed in rural and urban churches. More recently there has been a revival of Harvest Festival observances. Rural Life prayers, materials for worship in town and country churches, and discussion of principles and methods of worship have been warmly received. A committee is now exploring the publication of "Hymns of the Rural Spirit" for use on rural life days and conferences. These materials are balanced in their emphasis on man's relationship to God, to his fellows and to the natural world, and are stated in terms comprehensible to rural people.

The Lord's Acre Plan has had a remark-

able growth. Like a bridge spanning the seasons, it is anchored in Rogation Day or the seedtime service in the spring and in the Harvest Festival in the autumn. One of the primary contributions of the Lord's Acre Plan is that it consciously gives God a place in agriculture and in the every-day pursuits of rural people.

There is a marked interest in the spiritualization of "The Holy Earth." L. H. Bailey's book, *The Holy Earth* first published in 1915, was recently reprinted in a 25,000 copy edition. The Christian Rural Fellowship, which gives emphasis to this point of view has grown steadily since its organization fifteen years ago. Groups such as "Friends of the Soil" have been organized; and agencies, such as the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Government have shown definite awareness of the spiritual implications of land use.

This appears also to be a day of "creeds" and odes expressing the totality of man's relationships. A statement "The Christian Farmer" published only a few years ago has been reprinted in many journals and bulletins to a total of at least a half million imprints. Rev. K. A. Roadarmel has composed a statement "The Farmers Ode to the Holy Earth" based on I Corinthians 13. The Rural Life Committee of the Maine Council of Churches has formulated a six-point creed for dis-

tribution among churches, groups, and homes. This statement which reads as follows, admirably interprets the three-fold nature of man's relationships:

"Upon these things, we build a free America:

1. Respect for God. God is the source of life and man's inner sense of security.
2. Respect for man. Man, as God's child, is worthy of fellowship and cooperation.
3. The ownership of land. Land is a trust from God for man's economic security and freedom.
4. Christian homes on the land. Roots in land and homes give stability and performance through the generations.
5. Farming as a family enterprise in living. The family is the primary purpose of life and work together.
6. Moral and spiritual responsibility to future generations. Man, as steward of God and debtor to the past, is obligated to pass on to future generations a richer inheritance in life and land."

Certain other dynamic concepts are now current. The decentralist or distributist movement, with its corollary concept of the productive home is one of these ideas. The "homesteaders" seek to restore the home as the place of integral living, whereby it becomes the center of social, cultural, economic

and spiritual life. Through it family life comes to express its total relationships.

The idea of "community" is becoming an increasingly significant concept. Much is being said and written about it. The publication of *The Small Community* by Arthur E. Morgan, a layman of Tennessee Valley Authority fame, has come near to creating a sensation in rural religious circles. Morgan sees the small community as the cradle of basic culture and as the foundation of civilization.

Numerous ventures for the settlement of people on the land are being made by church groups. Notable among these projects is the resettlement of families through church auspices at Big Lick, Tennessee. That the government resettlement project at Granger, Iowa, stands out as one of the most successful of more than fifty is in no small measure accounted for by the spiritual leadership of a Catholic priest. The Reformed Church, Titonka, Iowa, during the depression years encouraged and guided families in the purchase of farms. The tenantry rate declined appreciably and the community and church life were stabilized and strengthened.

The Church of the Brethren affords a good example of what a denominational body is doing in this field. This church which has been a rural body is now concerned because some farms which have been in the hands

of Brethren for several generations are passing out of Brethren control. Rural churches are being weakened by the process. To check this trend the Conference has set up a fund of $50,000.00 with which to help young people get established on the land. Farms are to be purchased by the Mission board and resold through local churches to young farm couples.

The philosophy of this concern of the church for the people and the land is indirectly expressed in a statement made by a New York state pastor upon acquiring a Jersey cow for home production of milk. "First, the pastor needs a cow so he may learn the better how to preach and minister to rural folks. Second, the cow is a vital aid in 'home production', which is hoped to be set forth as an ideal way for a family to live. Third, it is believed that as the leadership of the church cares for animals and tills the soil, it will be aided in the vital present day need of 'spiritualizing agriculture' and in helping rural life in its every day phase."[6]

The growing interest in the cooperative movement is another evidence of the emergence of this larger view. Ministers and church people have been a strong force in fostering credit unions, consumers and producers cooperatives. Such practices are advocated as a natural expression of Christian teachings in man's economic relationships.

6 *Town and Country Church,* January, 1944.

Numerous other evidences point to the rebirth of a new interest in Christianity as a force that expresses itself in the totality of man's relationships. The minister, more than ever before in our time, becomes the social and economic engineer in that he, through a program of action helps people to see that these phases of man's life are to be motivated by the teachings of Jesus.

Rural leaders of insight in other countries, times and faiths consider the three relationships as one pattern of Christian life. Toyohika Kagawa, who early in his Christian experience sought after the essential factors in Christianity, advocates for rural work everywhere what he calls three principles of rural economics. These principles are "Love of Soil, Love of Neighbor, and Love of God"; nothing other than the Old Testament concept of man's three basic relationships stated in reverse order. The Wisers working among the low castes of India have a similar broad gage program. The Protestant saint, J. F. Oberlin of thc Vosges Mountains during the fifty-nine years of his pastorate, built a strong program along the lines of these relationships.

IV

The Road Ahead: The church needs to go further in this direction. We must still send clothing to people who are destitute, but the

long-time program must be to help people (the Navajos, for instance) who do not have enough clothes, to achieve a security which will enable them to provide clothes for themselves. The neighborhood should still raise a fund to assist a poor man to pay a large hospital bill, but it should press for the establishment of mutual societies which will make it reasonable for a poor man to protect his family against excessive hospital costs. When a man's house and barns burn, the spirit of Christ should lead the neighbors for miles around to "pitch in" by giving a purse. But, there should be more emphasis on cooperative insurance which is a means whereby the neighbors share systematically and equitably but no less religiously in meeting such contingencies. It is good to send heifers to rehabilitate Europe. But we must also correct those economic evils which bring on wars; which rob farmers of their cows. We should apply salve to the world's open sores, but we must seek to deal with the infection which causes the sores.

The whole program of the church must reflect the ideal expressed in the three relationships. Outwardly, many church programs will undergo no drastic change. Inwardly, the whole point of view, the concepts of religion in life, will be broadened and expanded. Such expansion will make our religion no less a faith for crises. Christians

must always reach out and help people in need. Nor will it take anything away from the flowering of Christlikeness in the individual. To lose the influence of our faith in either realm would be to emasculate it. But, there must be a "migration" of Christian ideals into man's wider relationships. This is no new concept of Christianity. Luke, the New Testament writer saw it. John the Baptist and the prophets before him believed it deeply. In our clearer moments we all see it.

Let the rural Christian rise to the call for a larger faith. He should not be discouraged by the smallness of his group or his own apparent insignificance. Like the seed which germinates and grows, never asking if it is worthwhile to grow, so the rural Christian should grow in the grace of the larger life. Truly the meek shall inherit the earth, if in their meekness they express the fullness of truth. The Christian farmer's field is the world.

CHAPTER XIV

The Apostles of Community

By

Winthrop Still Hudson

FAR too few Christians have any clear idea as to what Christianity can and ought to mean in the life of the world. Too often, among the rank and file of Christians, Christianity is equated with "church-going," and "church-going" is equated with respectability. The idea that Christianity should serve as a dynamic factor in the transformation of society is largely foreign to their thinking. The ministers have at least a wistful consciousness of having been called to become participants in a drama of fundamental and far-reaching significance, but frequently they become so embroiled in the hack-work of institutional life that their eyes are never lifted to the distant horizon of purpose that gives meaning to their activity.

Fortunately, life does not allow one to ignore for long the basic question of purpose —the "why" of our busyness, the "for what" of our institutional house-keeping. Life has a way of catching up with us and calling upon

us to assume responsibilities in terms of the new social situations into which we are thrust.

Life has caught up with us in recent years. The planet upon which we live has been shrinking in size. Under the impact of modern technological developments, as Professor Nixon has pointed out, a world society has been emerging. But it is a society that is badly divided, disordered, and torn by conflict. That is a condition which mankind cannot long endure and still survive. If life is to continue in any tolerable fashion, the mechanical structure which has brought the peoples of the earth into such close proximity must be clothed in the garment of human fellowship. The basic compulsion of our age is to transform the new planetary society into a genuine community.

It is strange where the dialectical dilemma of our day—the emergence of a unified-divided world—leads us. The compelling necessity it creates leads us back to the very springs of the Christian faith and reminds us of the high-calling that ought always to have been ours. The early Christians, whatever else they may have been, were *apostles of community.* They were seeking to create a fellowship that would transcend the conflicting loyalties of their time. True, there were some who sought to trim the gospel to fit a narrow nationalistic mold, but it wouldn't fit. Under the leadership of Paul, the universal-

ism implicit in the teachings of Jesus began to flower. Divisive labels—Jew and Gentile, Greek and Roman, Scythian, barbarian, bond, and free—were cast aside. The early preachers of the Christian community spoke the universal language of love and righteousness, and held forth as the vision glorious an apocalyptic picture of a redeemed humanity in an enduring community.

The idea that mankind is but one family, "made of one blood," whose destiny it is to live together as brothers upon one planet has never been completely submerged in the Christian tradition. It always has been present as an ideal, but only by a few hardy souls since the days of the primitive church has the ideal been considered a practical possibility or a possible reality. For a millenium and a half after the collapse of the Roman Empire, social pressures were increasingly atomistic and it was a stout hearted prophet who dared throw himself athwart the tide of social change. Now there has come a marked reversal. Today the very pressure of the times is compelling a resumption of the role we have so long neglected. The new age in which we are living demands that we become once more apostles of community.

I

The creation of a world community is essentially a religious task. All genuine com-

munities are bound together by ideas that are large enough, by loyalties that are great enough, by concepts that are inclusive enough to secure the allegiance of all who constitute the community. This is what social theorists mean when they speak of the development of a common "ethos"—a common morality and loyalty. On less than a world scale, such an "ethos" can be developed by means other than religion—by doctrines of race and nation and group loyalty. But when one moves out into the world and attempts to do this for the entire planet, nothing less than religion will do. For then, one begins to deal with universals—with elements of truth and loyalty that transcend group, national, geographic, class, and racial lines. And when one begins to deal with such universals, he is dealing with the very stuff of which high religion is made. It was with some such thought in mind that William E. Hocking declared that the function of religion should be to provide man with "his deepest bond to his neighbor," for it represents his "hold upon what is eternal and true for all men." Or, as he states it elsewhere,

> Religion in its normal effect unites men rather than divides them. For religion seeks a universal reality which holds good for all men in all places at all times. And to be actively concerned for an absolute end is the indirect road to human unity—more certain than the direct road—and at bottom the only road to unity.

Theoretically, religion should unite us and provide a solid foundation for an enduring human fellowship. Actually, however, religion too often has been a divisive rather than a unifying factor in the experience of mankind. All manner of divisive elements have been able to creep in—particular modes of worship that were felt to have divine sanction, local customs that were associated with eternal decrees, parochial faiths that were equated with universal realities. Both in the past and present, these separative tenets have been held so tenaciously and defended so bitterly that Professor Whitehead, in a despairing moment, was led to wonder if "religion" must ever remain a synonym for "hatred."

Obviously, the proponents of religion have not been conspicuously successful as apostles of community. One alternative, in such a situation, would be to forget about religion and look elsewhere for unifying principles around which an ordered society might take shape. "The ostensible object of the religions," a Turkish editor has written "is to develop among men the spirit of concord, of love and of compassion; it is preferable to abandon the remedy if, instead of curing, it aggravates and perpetuates the disease." That is one conclusion to draw.

A second and better alternative, when confronted by the failure of religion to promote

community, is to conclude that something has been radically wrong with our apostleship. If religion, or to be more specific, if Christianity is concerned basically with those ultimate realities which "hold good for all men in all places at all times," then it can and ought to be a road to human unity. But, if the Christian pretension to be a way to fellowship and brotherhood is to be more than a pious ideal, then we must become more effective than we have been in implementing that ideal. The leaders of our churches must become in fact, as well as in profession, apostles of community, and the training of Christian leadership must be directed to that end. It is with the essential elements in the training of such leadership that we must be concerned.

II

Other contributors to this volume have discussed the resources of Christianity that are available for the task of creating a human fellowship that shall encircle the earth. The Christian tradition with its roots in the biblical literature; the Christian message with its profound convictions as to the nature of the world and the destiny of man; the Christian church as a worshipping community and an organized force; Christian piety as a means of cultivating the inner life—these are fundamental items in the storehouse of Christianity,

and it is imperative that Christian leadership shall learn to utilize them effectively. Beyond this fundamental requirement which has been considered in some detail in earlier chapters, there are certain specific emphases that ought to be made in the training of Christian leaders if they are to become apostles of community in our modern world society.

It is abundantly clear that, in the crisis of our age, effective Christian leadership demands something more than mere parish priests, sectarian pulpiteers, pious prophets, ecclesiastical tinkerers, and preachers who are politically illiterate, culturally uninformed, and intellectually undisciplined. Of all the professions, that of religious leadership is the most exacting. The challenging importance of the need it seeks to meet and the complexity of the task it seeks to perform spell disaster when the cause is placed in the hands of second-rate men who are inadequately prepared for the job that is theirs. With this thought in mind, I would suggest five basic emphases in the education of Christian leaders.

The training of apostles of community must, first of all, be *intellectually rigorous.* This is too rugged a world for Christian leadership that is intellectually anemic. The parrotting of ancient shibboleths and the echo-

ing of empty platitudes will not suffice to supply the guidance so desperately needed by a bewildered and despairing humanity. Nor can pious sentiments be a substitute for disciplined intelligence. The road to the present hell has been paved with good intentions. Our leadership has been "good" enough but not "wise" enough. We have been bedeviled with unanticipated results and with consequences we failed to foresee.

The predicament in which we find ourselves is not particularly new. It has been encountered repeatedly in human experience, but that fact makes it none the less tragic. Paul Harold Beik's recent volume, *A Judgment of the Old Regime,* provides a particularly striking illustration of the muddle-mindedness which is unable to see the ultimate consequences of policies which are earnestly pursued. The magistrates of the *parlement* at Aix in Provence, Beik points out, wished to preserve the prestige of the nobility, but the tendencies they encouraged ended in the destruction of the nobility. They wished to "cause religion to be respected and clergymen to be revered"; yet the end result of the mood they helped create was a violent anticlericalism. Above all, the members of this sovereign court of France were interested in preserving their own corporate rights and privileges, but by "interfering constantly in the government's affairs" they weakened "the

very structure of the monarchy upon which they depended for their existence." Unknowingly, they sowed the seed of their own destruction.

If the experience of the French magistrates of Provence is not to be repeated again and again in the Christian attempt to create a genuine community out of the chaos of our planetary society then we must have tough-minded leaders who are willing and able to grapple intelligently and effectively with the basic issues and realities of our time, and who at the same time are far-sighted prophets able to anticipate the outcome of their proposed courses of action.

The training of Christian leadership for a world society, however, must be not only intellectually rigorous; it also must be *non-sectarian and ecumenical.* Christians are professedly one.

> Like a mighty army moves the church of God;
> Brothers, we are treading where the saints have trod;
> We are not divided, all one body we,
> One in hope and doctrine, one in charity.

So we sing it, but to the outsider the truth expressed is not too evident. We are not one in hope, doctrine, or charity. We are many. To talk of Christianity's contribution to the establishment of a world community before we attempt to do something about the barriers to fellowship within our own household

of faith, is to put the cart before the horse and to lay ourselves open to the charge of insincerity. If we hope to be agents for the creation of a community of mankind, we must begin by putting our own house in order. Our denominational isolationism constitutes no shining example to a world which we would summon to make sacrifices in behalf of unity, and the scant respect with which our appeals are received ought not to surprise us. "Physician," they say to us, "heal thyself."

There are differences among Christians, but these differences need not be a barrier to fellowship if they are given their proper place in our scale of values. If fellowship and community are primary values, all other matters are secondary, and if not negligible, at least subservient. No body of Christians, true to the spirit of the New Testament, can draw a circle around itself and go its own exclusive way. For to do that is to break fellowship and to break fellowship is to sin.

In this modern world, where no man can say to another, "I have no need of thee," the day of excommunication is dead. It is dead in the churches, where we must either witness the love of God that was in Christ or be cast aside as an irrelevant survival from an ancient past. Only as an emphasis on ecumenicity serves to checkmate the perpetua-

tion of sectarianism can Christian leaders become effective apostles of community.

The training of Christian leadership for the task of advancing the cause of community must also involve *a clear understanding and a profound appreciation of the other high religions of mankind.* For Christianity is operating in a world where these other religions are a stubborn fact. A few decades ago the rallying cry of Christians was "the evangelization of the world in this generation." As a matter of historic record, the world was not won to Christ in that generation, and there is little likelihood that Christianity will displace completely the other high religions of the world in any conceivably near future. There is every prospect that we shall have to live together with the adherents of other faiths for some generations to come. Unfortunately, the insistent demand of our age for community cannot be postponed until a single faith for all mankind is achieved. In the meantime, we must discover, if possible, some common basis upon which we can live and work together in harmony and concord.

In our days of isolation we have been largely ignorant of the other religions of mankind. So parochial has been our concern that most of us know little concerning even the tenets of our Jewish co-religionists who have been in our midst for years and with whom we share a common heritage. We know far less,

of course, concerning the great religions in more distant areas. This is a situation which must be rectified.

Community is dependent upon a certain measure of agreement. It is possible that, as we come to understand and appreciate other religions, we find certain broad areas of agreement which we have in common. It is even conceivable that we may duplicate Paul's experience at Athens and discover that we are worshipping the same God under different names. Christianity, indeed, is the religion of love; yet, as one scientist has declared, " 'Love one another' is probably a fundamental law of nature, a law as inexorable as the first law of thermodynamics." If that is true, there are undoubtedly diverse paths to that truth. If people have reached that truth by a different path and have exalted it under a different name, then, despite variations in terminology, we are at a point of possible agreement—an agreement that will permit the definition of certain common goals. And when we have defined common goals and have committed ourselves to them, we shall have traveled a long way down the road to human community.

A fourth essential in the training of apostles of community is provision for *a basic orientation in the fields of political, economic, and social theory.* The divisions that separate man from man are not simply religions. "There

are," G. B. Shaw has declared recently, "five directions in which a civilization can go wrong. The five are its economics, its politics, its science, its education, and its religion." The early chapters of this volume have made clear that racial tensions, economic disorganization, and hyper-nationalistic political philosophies are major obstacles in the path of the Christian enterprise as it moves in the direction of a world community. They constitute stark realities which we can neither avoid nor ignore.

To assert that the critical social maladjustments of modern society will not be resolved by kindly sentiments and neighborly dispositions nor by brilliant abstract speculations, is to echo a truism that has become a cliché. Brilliance of mind and kindness of heart, if they are to result in effective leadership, must be supplemented by an understanding of the actual nature and structure of modern society. Intelligent leadership does not function in a vacuum, and today it must function in the midst of a social situation that is increasingly complex. No longer is the task of Christian leadership that of securing an adjustment of the tensions existing between comparatively few people existing in relative isolation. The entire planet and all mankind are involved, and any attempt to deal with the conflicts—economic, political, and social—that are rending the fabric of a possible

human fellowship must take into account the disastrous consequences that will inevitably result from a reckless tinkering with the delicate mechanisms that operate in a global society. Indispensable, then, for men who would serve as apostles of community in the modern world are the insights, comprehension, and knowledge provided by the social sciences—above all, perhaps, the understanding made possible by social psychology.

Finally, those who aspire to be apostles of community must be led *to see their task in its global setting.* The day of the parish priest whose horizon did not extend beyond his "daily perambulations round the village pump" is over. Today the entire planet is the parish of every religious leader. It is a world task he is called upon to perform, and a program designed to equip him for that task must at least keep the map of the world before his eyes. And yet, how often we proceed on the assumption that *our* culture is the only culture worth knowing, that *our* history is the only history worth studying, that *our* political institutions are the only political institutions worth understanding, that the only things of significance are those things which find immediate reflection in *our* local milieu. Is it any wonder that, in a day when the harvest is white and the field is global, we continue to breed day-laborers in a village garden-patch?

During the last century the missionary enterprise served as a partial corrective to a narrow outlook. Through the doors it opened, the winds of the world ventilated the musty confines of our churches. The names of distant lands and strange countries became commonplace, and from every pulpit was sounded the call of the world. But the missionary enterprise, as traditionally conceived, will no longer do. It is not a question now of foreign missions—half the world Christian and half pagan, and the Christian lands bestowing upon the others out of the treasury of their enlightenment the blessings of western civilization. The major problems that confront the Christian today are world problems —problems common to every quarter of the earth. It is the question of Christianity versus paganism everywhere. All nations and races are sailing tempestuous seas in a single craft. We survive or perish together. No Christian leader ought ever to be allowed to forget this fact.

III

Nothing less than a brave company of apostles of community—disciplined in their thinking, non-sectarian in their loyalty, appreciative toward other religions, profoundly aware of the nature of modern society, and global in outlook—will measure up in terms

of leadership to the need of our time. To produce such men is the specific task of the institutions that have been created for the training of religious leadership, but they cannot do it alone. When it is asked why these institutions do not do a better job in producing such leadership, it must be remembered that they take over the task rather late in the educational process. To the question why his theological seminary did not make better preachers, a professor replied: "Because we have nothing but laymen out of which to make them." The churches cannot shirk their responsibility. It is only as the churches and the Christian colleges and seminaries together make central the common objective of training apostles of community that the Christian enterprise will move forward, under adequate leadership, toward the world-wide human fellowship which God is seeking to establish.

What are the prospects for success in our endeavor? There can be little doubt that we are, to use Matthew Arnold's picturesque phrase, "wandering between two worlds." There is little question that the one is dead. The query upon which our destiny depends is whether the other is "powerless to be born." To that question there is no certain answer. Much depends on us. But there are many indications that the new world is being born, and that the distress of our day is nothing less than the travail of its birth. This conviction

has been expressed by Arthur Koestler in these words:

> The day is not far when its present interregnum will end, and a new 'horizontal' ferment will arise—not a new party or sect, but an irresistable global mood, a spiritual springtide like early Christianity or the Renaissance. It will probably mark the end of our historical era, the period which began with Galileo, Newton and Columbus, the period of human adolescence, . . . the new movement will . . . in Auden's words, 'rally the lost and trembling forces of the will, gather them up and let them loose upon the earth.'

To "rally the lost and trembling forces of the will, gather them up and let them loose upon the earth"—that is the apostleship to which we are called and which, by the grace of God, will result in the realization of the blessed community of the Christian faith.

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